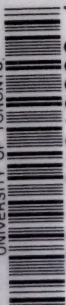


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A SHORT HISTORY OF
THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE

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OF THE
SCOTTISH PEOPLE

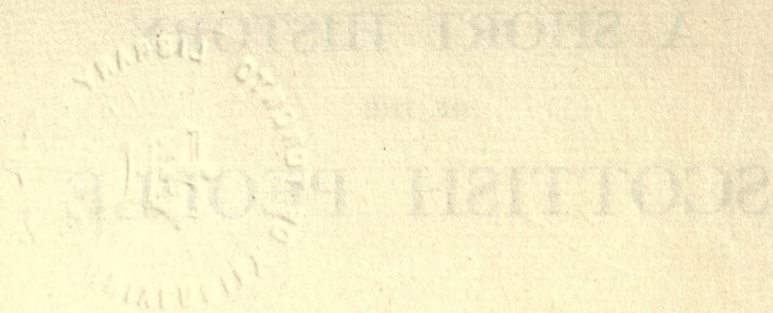
BY
DONALD MACMILLAN, M.A., D.D.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF DR. GEORGE MATHESON,' ETC.

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HODDER AND STOUGHTON
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DEDICATED
TO
WILLIAM WALLACE, LL.D.
BY ONE WHO OWES MUCH TO HIS FRIENDSHIP
AND HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO AND INTEREST IN
SCOTTISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE

PREFACE

THE recent revival of interest in Scottish history has produced two classes of works : first, large productions, extending to three or four volumes, chiefly meant for men of ample leisure ; second, small volumes, written in a simple and popular style, and intended mainly for schools. No work based on recent research has, so far, appeared to fill the gap between these two classes. The present volume is an attempt to supply this desideratum. The ever-growing number of intelligent readers who have neither the time nor the inclination to peruse the large histories, and whose minds are too matured to be satisfied with mere school-books, has been kept steadily in view by the author. He has striven to record every fact of importance, and yet not to overload his narrative with too many distracting details.

As the title indicates, it is the History of the People that he has endeavoured to portray. Special attention accordingly has been devoted to their struggles to secure those free institutions through which in the end they were able to express their will. The social conditions that prevailed at different times, by which the life of the people is chiefly illustrated, are dealt with in successive chapters with fulness and in detail. The author's aim all through has been, after tracing the way by which the different races that originally inhabited Scotland gradually amalgamated, to show how the people thus formed into a nation developed those

features, of a religious, political, and personal nature, which have given them a character all their own. The evolution of the nation, in short, is the theme of the book.

Full use has been made of the large, and especially the more recent, histories, such as those of Mr. Hume Brown and Mr. Andrew Lang, and of the works of such acknowledged experts as Dr. D. Hay Fleming, Mr. John Mackintosh, and Mr. William Law Mathieson ; but the original sources available have also been independently consulted, and every effort made to keep the work abreast of the most recent research.

The author has to express his great indebtedness to the Rev. James H. Mackay, M.A., Hastie Lecturer in the University of Glasgow, and the Rev. A. J. Campbell, B.A. (Cantab.), minister of St John's Parish, Glasgow, for their careful revision of proofs, and to the latter also for a very full and complete Index.

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SCOTTISH PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

ORIGINS

THE Scottish people owe their name to a colony of Scots who migrated from Ireland in the beginning of the sixth century, and took possession of the district now known as Argyllshire. These newcomers gradually consolidated themselves into a kingdom, and after varying fortunes, succeeded, five hundred years later, in conquering the whole of North Britain as far south as the river Tweed, and to this large district was in due time given the name of Scotland. Although the formation of the country into a united kingdom can thus be accounted for, the origin and growth of the Scottish people themselves is a much more complex problem, for they are composed of the different races which, at various times, occupied the country, and through conflict and conquest finally mingled. The English people are, in the main, composed of two stocks, the Angles and the Saxons, who conquered the country and all but exterminated the Britons, the original possessors of the soil. But a war of extermination never took place in Scotland. None of the different races was so strong, or so ruthless, as practically to extinguish the others. Each of them survived, and, in the course of centuries, contributed its share to the growing civilisation. In this way can the distinctive features of Scottish character and Scottish nationality be understood and explained.

Many writers on Scottish history have devoted considerable space to what they call prehistoric times. This is an interesting but, from lack of reliable data, not always a profitable study. Still, some glimmerings of light have in recent times been cast upon the conditions that prevailed in Scotland one or two thousand years before the Christian era. A race of Basque or Iberian stock, who wandered from North Africa through Spain, is supposed to have landed in Britain and gradually spread over the whole island. They were of short stature, with long and narrow heads. Some five or six hundred years before the birth of Christ a race of Celts, of Aryan stock, came from Gaul. They were large of stature, with fair features and broad heads. They colonised Ireland as well. These Celtic settlers are alleged to have mingled with the original inhabitants of North Britain; and it was this united people that the Romans had to face when, in the year 80 A.D., under Agricola, they marched north to subdue the Caledonians, as they were called, who made the Roman occupation of Britain somewhat difficult. These northern tribes made incursions south into Roman territory, and one imperial general after another had to build walls, forts, and ramparts across different parts of the country, to keep the Caledonians at bay. The Romans, however, left few marks upon Scotland; they never really conquered or possessed the land. Theirs was only a military occupation, and at their final departure in 411 they left the country pretty much as they found it. For the next hundred and fifty years a thick cloud hangs over the country. Nothing, or almost nothing, is known of what took place during that period, and when the veil at last is lifted, at what may be called the beginning of Scottish history, this is what we find.

We get a glimpse of four distinct peoples, two of which, the Celts and the Britons, were ancient inhabitants of the soil, while the other two, the Scots and the Angles, were newcomers. Between them there began that contest for ascendancy, which continued for four centuries and at

last ended in the triumph of one of them, the Scots, already referred to, a colony of whom, led by Fergus Mor and his two brothers, left Ireland between 498 and 503, and landed on the western shores of Argyllshire. They soon took possession of that county with the neighbouring islands of Islay and Jura, and this district, which afterwards was known as Scotia, a name that finally embraced the whole kingdom of Scotland, they called Dalriada in memory of their old Irish home. They were Goidelic Celts, who had, to some extent, come under the influence of Christianity through the labours of St Patrick, and they chose as their capital Dunadd at the head of Loch Crinan.

The people against whom the Scots had to make good their footing were the Picts. These were the Celts who had migrated from the Continent and partly dispossessed and partly absorbed the original inhabitants, who were of Basque or Iberian origin. In any case, at the beginning of Scottish history they occupied the largest tract of the country, and had formed themselves into a kingdom or kingdoms of considerable strength. Their Celtic origin, which was at one time a subject of hot dispute, is now generally accepted, but the closeness or remoteness of their affinity with the Goidelic Celts who came from Ireland is still a moot point. At the close of the sixth century they held the large district that stretches north from the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and is bounded on the east by the German Ocean and on the west by the county of Argyll. According to a once universal belief the Romans gave to them the name of Picts, from the Latin word *pictus*, because they painted their bodies; but their name, as well as when and whence they came to North Britain, are matters of dispute. Of all the races that occupied the country within historic times, they have left the fewest traces; hardly a word even of their language remains.

The other native race was the Britons or Brythonic Celts. As their name implies, they were inhabitants of Southern Britain when the Romans landed, and it was

for this reason that the Latin name of Britannia was given to the whole island. The Romans drove them north and west, and they found shelter at last in Wales and in Strathclyde. Though they were Celts their language was not the same as that of the Scots, but resembled that of the people of Wales. Their capital was at Carlisle, but in 573, after the battle of Arderydd, they transferred it to Alcluyd, afterwards known as Dumbarton, 'the fortress of the Britons.'

If the Picts had a dread of the Scots who in the end conquered their kingdom, the people whom the Britons had to fear were also newcomers; these were the Angles. It was in 547 that they were driven north by their Saxon rivals, and finally founded Bernicia, which stretched from the river Tees to the Firth of Forth. Like their compatriots across the border, they had come from the western shores of Germany, and after various encounters with the natives, they at last established themselves, under their leader Ida, partly in the north of England and partly in the south of Scotland. They were a warlike race, and the Britons found it impossible to withstand them. At one time it looked as if they, and not the Scots, were to be the conquerors of the whole country. In that case the English race would have prevailed from the south to the north of the island, and the Scottish kingdom and Scottish nationality would never have existed.

Certain parts of Scotland, particularly the Shetland and Orkney Islands, were repeatedly invaded by the Scandinavians, who also, for a considerable period, held sway over the Western Isles; and in the formation of the Scottish people they also bear a share. As the story advances, the part they played in the development of Scottish nationality will become apparent. Upon the contribution which each race made depends the many-sidedness of the nation, and from the struggles that took place to preserve its independence against repeated attacks from the south arises its intense patriotism.

What do we know of those ancient races whose blood

mingles in our veins? What authentic picture can be drawn of their mode of life? What can we tell of their religion? Much has been written on these and on other subjects, but it is difficult to find two authors who agree. Of written records there are practically none. All that one can do is to create or to piece together the story from the remains that still exist, and have from time to time been discovered by accident or by excavation. Distinct traces are found in North Britain of the Stone Age, the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Weapons, vessels for domestic use, and ornaments, the products of each of these ages, have been discovered in more or less abundance. The houses, too, in which these ancient races lived have again been brought to light. In Strathclyde, lake-dwellings or *Crannogs* have been discovered. North of the Forth, searchers have come across *Brochs* or Pictish towers, high round castles with thick walls. Earth-houses, too, have been excavated, showing that the ancient inhabitants of Scotland in times of stress lived under ground.

Each of these kinds of dwellings tells the same story; it was built for protection; it points to the age as one of war, when the struggle for existence was keen and hard. And yet war is not without its advantages. Though usually regarded as brutal, it is not without civilising effects. It develops ingenuity, and, in the pauses of peace, the faculty of invention finds expression in the creation of articles of adornment as well as of use. One need not then be surprised at finding in those ages ornaments, such as brooches, necklaces, and bracelets, that are of striking beauty. There are many tokens that the race which occupied North Britain at the beginning of history had made considerable progress in civilisation. The Romans testify to their skill and courage in war, and their remains give ample proof of the progress that they had made in more peaceful, and not less useful, human pursuits.

The historical imagination has to exert itself still further, when trying to conceive the kind of religion which prevailed

among the different races from which modern Scotland has sprung. In the chambered cairns or burial vaults that have been dug up in different parts of the country, and which point to the time when the Picts were supreme, the bones of animals, chiefly those of dogs, are found mingled with those of men. The natural inference drawn from this is that our Pictish forefathers believed in animal worship; dogs were their companions in life, they found them useful in the chase, and desired their company after death. This belief influenced later Celtic worship. The Picts were polytheists, and cultivated ancestor worship. They had a strong belief in immortality. Three of the Gaelic festivals which prevailed in those times are still landmarks in the Scottish religious or social year: Beltane, held on the first of May; Lammas, on the first of August; and Samhnirm or 'Summerend,' for long known as Hallowe'en. They were expressive of adoration for the natural elements of fire and light and earth, each of which had its own particular god. The Scots from Ireland, being also Celts, had religious beliefs more or less akin to those of their own race whom they found in Scotland on their arrival, and those of the Britons would be generically the same. The Angles came with their Teutonic belief in Woden, the war-god, and in the other gods who in due time gave their names to the days of the week. These different religions, however, soon gave place to the Christian religion, and they can now be traced only in certain festivals or names which have lost their substance, but remain as shadowy figures pointing far back to ancient beliefs which have long since been shorn of their potency and inspiration.

Information also as to the natural appearance of the country at the beginning of the sixth century is equally meagre. The coast-lines must have been practically the same as they now are, the mountains and hills have remained unchanged, and the climate has altered but little. The banks of the rivers were perhaps lower, there were more lakes than are now to be found, natural forests must

have abounded and cultivation would be sparse. Wolves and boars and wild cats were numerous. The inhabitants lived chiefly by hunting and fishing, and whatever industries existed must have been primitive in the extreme. From such unlikely sources has modern Scotland sprung and developed. It was not colonised, as the British Empire beyond the seas has been within the last two centuries, by men trained in all the arts of peace. Those who lived in it when such conditions prevailed had first of all to invent before they could practise. That they did discover within the comparatively short period of a thousand years the secrets of mind and of nature which have since been put to such fruitful use, is the best proof of their original capacity, and of the happy chance which brought together races apparently so unlike, but in whose mingling and amalgamation lay the prophecy of all that now is or may yet be.

It is natural perhaps that Scotsmen in different parts of the country should claim as their ancestors one or other of the different races that originally possessed the land. The dwellers in the Lothians may believe in their Teutonic, the Highlanders of Argyll in their Scottish, the dwellers in Strathclyde in their British, the inhabitants north of the Forth in their Pictish, and the Orcadians and Hebrideans in their Scandinavian, descent; but according to the highest authority each may be labouring under a huge mistake. ‘There is one feature of the ethnological question,’ says Dr. Robert Munro, the latest and greatest authority on the subject, in the closing passage of the volume that appears as an Introduction to *The County Histories of Scotland*, ‘which, being of a practical character, cannot fail to interest those who think they can distinguish through the gossamer of language and tradition, the blood and civilisation of the different races who have, from time to time, found a permanent home within the British Isles. Perhaps few anthropologists have ever seriously considered the slender ground on which the term “Celtic” is applied

in modern times to sections of the population in these islands. If the linguistic fragments still extant are to be taken as evidence of the distribution of Celtic influence, they would restrict the latter to the very same geographical areas which the racial evidence marks out as non-Aryan or pre-Celtic. No greater contrast between existing races is to be found than between the present inhabitants of the Aran Isles in Galway Bay, and those of County Kerry in Ireland. They are probably the purest breeds of the Xanthochroi and Melanochroi to be found in Western Europe, but they are both within the modern Celtic Fringe. The truth is that between language and race there is no permanent alliance. Many of the most sentimental and patriotic Scotsmen of the present day are Teutons by blood, while still more have pre-Celtic blood coursing in their veins ; and the same may be said of Irishmen. And what a picture of mistaken identity do so many Englishmen present when, with the physical qualities of low stature, long heads and dark eyes, they boast of their Teutonic origin. To console readers who may not find themselves labelled by nature among any of the original types which enter into any of our common nationality, neither dark nor fair, long nor short, dolichocephalic nor brachycephalic, but among the larger category of well-developed mongrels, let me assure them, that no special combination of racial characters has ever yet been proved to have the monopoly of intellectuality and virtue.' Scotsmen accordingly must rest content with being 'well-developed mongrels,' a fact of which they have no reason to be ashamed.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY

AT the time when the different races in Scotland were girding themselves for the strife that was to last for about four hundred years, a new force appeared in their midst, which more than battles and victories brought them together and hastened the consolidation of the kingdom. This was Christianity. It was the only legacy which the Romans left that became permanent. The wall of Agricola, between the Forth and Clyde, the rampart of Hadrian, between the Tyne and Solway, and the vallum of Antoninus Pius, on or near the site of that of Agricola, have all but vanished away. Here and there remains of Roman forts, camps, and ramparts are still to be found, and the excavations that have from time to time taken place give sure proofs of the presence of the masters of the world. But they did nothing to civilise the country or to unite the different tribes under a steady rule. Theirs was only, after all, a military occupation of the country. But the Empire, before the Romans left Scotland, had been Christianised. The first missionary that preached the Cross to the natives of North Britain owed his training and inspiration to the Roman soldiers who came to conquer the country by force of arms, ignorant of the real victory that they were, unconsciously, to achieve by the Gospel of peace. It may be quite true that it was not Christianity of the Roman type which at first prevailed as an organised system, for it was the Columban Church, which owed no allegiance to Rome, that was the first national Church of Scotland; but nearly two hundred years before St Columba converted the Picts, and sent his missionaries over the land, a messenger

of the Cross had appeared and preached the Gospel to the Picts of Galloway (for many centuries a kingdom by themselves), and had built the first Christian church in North Britain. This apostle was Ninian, whose name is perpetuated in the numerous churches and wells which are called after him, and are to be found chiefly in the south of Scotland. He is reputed to have been born on the shores of the Solway Firth in the year A.D. 350, to have completed his Christian training at Rome, to have visited on his journey St Martin at Tours, and on his return to have erected a church, afterwards known as Candida Casa, because it was built of white stone, at Whithorn in Wigtownshire. St Ninian, though a shadowy personality, is no legendary saint. In a cave not far from his church there was found, after the rubbish had been cleared away, a paved floor, and Celtic crosses were discovered incised on the rocky walls. In Kirkmadrine, also in Wigtownshire, are to be seen stone pillars, on which there is inscribed the Christian monogram, and it is contended that these are proofs of the existence of Christianity in Scotland during, or shortly after, the Roman occupation. St Ninian confined his labours chiefly to the Picts of Galloway and the Britons of Strathclyde. He must also have exercised his gifts and carried out his mission through Ayrshire, and he is reputed to have travelled even beyond the Grampians. He is further credited with having performed miracles; to have caused the earth to produce after its kind; to have restored the sight of the King of Strathclyde. His tomb also possessed virtues of healing, so that his influence did not die with him. Be this as it may, the first breath of a loftier religion and a purer civilisation had now been wafted over Scotland. The prospects of a better day had at last dawned, and although during the century and a half which intervened between the departure of the Romans and the beginning of history the Picts of Galloway must have reverted, to a large extent, to their ancient heathenism,—the seed sown by Ninian cannot have altogether

died; he had in any case prepared the soil, and made ready the way for the great apostle of Christianity with whose name Scottish religion has always been associated.

It was in the year 563 that Columba landed in Iona, and with his advent on our shores 'Scottish history,' according to one of the greatest authorities, 'may be emphatically said to begin.' He was born at Gartan in Donegal, Ireland, on the 7th December 521, and was thus kin to the Scots who at different periods had migrated to Kintyre and the shores of Argyllshire, made a permanent settlement there, and formed their kingdom of Dalriada some fifty years before the arrival of Columba himself. The personality of the saint, unlike that of Ninian, is far from being a shadowy one. His is really the first figure that stands out clear and distinct in Scottish history, and he has ever been honoured, not only as the founder of the Church, but also as the leader in the movement, partly religious and partly political, which ended in the consolidation of the kingdom and the people of Scotland. One can see at a glance that he was one of those ecclesiastics who first of all acquired personal dominance by their asceticism and the sanctity of their lives, and who with a far-seeing outlook utilised this power, not only for the edification of the people, but also for their material, political and national interests. Columba was distinctively a great man, and he has naturally left his mark upon the history of the country. He made higher influences effective in a somewhat chaotic time, and gave a purposeful direction to tendencies that were largely unconscious, and, unless intelligently guided, might have ended in catastrophe.

Columba's first care was in keeping with his profession as a missionary of the Gospel. Having landed in Iona with twelve companions he set to work to found his monastery, which consisted of a 'church with its altar and recesses, a refectory, the cells and huts of the monks and Columba's house, or cell, in which he read and wrote, and one or more houses for the reception of strangers not belong-

ing to the monastic family. All these erections were surrounded by a rampart and a ditch called a wall, which was probably intended as much for the restraint of the monks as for security. So far as has been ascertained, it appears that, originally, the whole of these buildings were formed of wood and wattles, which perhaps rested upon stone foundations. Outside the wall there were the cow house and the stable, the barn, the kiln and the mill, the smithy and the carpenter's workshop.'

It would seem that celibacy was enjoined by Columba, and the Abbot himself was the head of the community. The regulations for the ordering of the life of the inmates of the monastery were well defined and conformed to the monastic rules of the Irish Church, of which Columba's was an offshoot. The work in Iona was carried on in absolute independence of Rome, and the tribal system on which it was based admirably suited the political and social conditions of the Pictish nation, whose conversion it was the object of Columba to accomplish. The hearts of Scotsmen have always warmed at the thought of this ancient hero, half saint, half warrior—for he had taken part in several battles, and was called by his followers themselves *Miles Christi*—setting sail from Ireland in a wicker boat, and after touching at Islay, landing in Iona, the sea-girt isle, ever after to be the shrine of the Scottish Church. Here in safe seclusion, and yet within a stone's throw, as it were, of the mainland, Columba marshalled his forces, and in two years after his settlement he started on his missionary journey among the Picts. The Scots themselves had brought their Christianity with them from Ireland. It was of the kind which Columba favoured, and all he had to do was to re-establish the truth, which had grown somewhat weak among them, from the lack of an organised Church and fully accredited missionaries. The two years spent by him in Iona would no doubt be used in reviving the faith of his countrymen and gaining full ascendancy over them. But the chief work of his life was

now about to be undertaken, and so he made his way to the palace of Brude, the Pictish king, on the banks of the Ness. His reception was such as has been often accorded to Christian missionaries since his day; the gates of the palace were shut in his face. At this point there begins in the career of Columba that series of miracles, recorded by his biographer, Adamnan, which were the natural offspring of a superstitious age, and which we now are able to appraise at their true value. The saint, so it is recorded, by making the sign of the cross and knocking at the gate, caused it to fly open. On another occasion, when on a visit to the land of the Picts, he heard of a famous well, to taste whose water was death, or at least the contraction of some loathsome disease, like leprosy. The saint, however, blessed the waters in the name of Christ, after which he and his disciples drank of them with impunity, and the death-dealing well became ever afterwards famous for its curative qualities. On another occasion, while praying in a sequestered spot, he was attacked by a host of black demons with iron darts. Columba entered boldly upon the unequal contest, and at last, through aid vouchsafed to him by the angels of God, triumphed. Such were the legends that afterwards grew round the saint; they belong to the class of traditions which attach to the deeds of Christian missionaries in a half enlightened age. But the qualities of Columba were of a higher and more substantial order than those of the mere thaumaturgist, otherwise he could never have accomplished his notable work, and become the first great leading figure in Scottish history.

Whatever weapon Columba may have used, it was evidently powerful enough to prevail against King Brude, for he became converted to Christianity, and, along with him, the whole Pictish nation. The conversion was not merely nominal. The Christian religion took a deep hold upon the tribes which embraced it. The monastic system of the Irish Church spread over the country, and

gradually affected the general life and social condition of the people. But the most important feature of the change was the fact that it paved the way for the future unification of the kingdom. Nothing binds peoples so closely together as a common faith, especially if it be embodied in an outward organisation or Church which they all accept. With the Christian religion and the Columban Church prevailing, both among the Scots and Picts, the consolidation of the two peoples could only be a matter of time, and once Strathclyde and the Lothians were also converted to Christianity the hopes of a united kingdom would be immeasurably strengthened.

Political considerations of no mean importance, however, blocked the way. The different kingdoms were still at enmity, but the first step in reducing that hostility was now about to be taken, and the man who showed the way in this fresh movement was Columba himself. On his arrival at Iona the Saint found the kingdom of Dalriada in a somewhat weakened state. King Brude, having driven the Scots into Kintyre, threatened the extinction of the kingdom itself. Columba was a Scot, and bent all his strength to restore the fallen fortunes of his countrymen. It is by his success, in this connection, that the other side of his character—his political and, perhaps, his military genius—is revealed. He felt that to attain success the right man must be on the throne of the Scots. He exercised his authority in favour of a chief named Aidan, though he was not the rightful king. Hitherto the kingdom of Dalriada would seem to have been dependent upon Ireland, and at a great synod, held at Drumceatt in Londonderry in 575, he succeeded in securing the recognition of Aidan as an independent king, a recognition which was also accorded to him by the Picts. Aidan justified Columba's choice. He strengthened his kingdom, and aided the Britons of Strathclyde in repelling the Angles of Bernicia, but he met with a crushing defeat in 603 at Degsastan, a place supposed to be near Jedburgh,

at the hands of Aethelfrith, the king of the Angles, and grandson of the famous Ida. Aidan no doubt felt that, unless the power of the king of Bernicia was broken, Strathclyde would be overrun and his own throne rendered unsafe. The fact that he was able to raise a large army and face so formidable a foe is a proof of the strength of his kingdom. His defeat, however, was not fatal to his country, for after a reign of thirty-seven years he left it intact.

Christianity was now firmly established among the Scots and Picts, for there is evidence that, before the death of Columba, monasteries and churches had been planted over both kingdoms. But Strathclyde and the Lothians had still to be converted, for neither the Britons nor the Angles had as yet accepted the new faith. It may be true that Ninian had made some attempts to spread the truth among them, but his labours had been chiefly confined to the Picts of Galloway; even they had grievously lapsed from the faith, and presented a fitting field for missionary enterprise. Those dark regions had not to wait long for the new light. The first to receive it was Strathclyde, and the apostle who was commissioned to convert that kingdom was St Kentigern, or St Mungo, whose name has ever been associated with the city of Glasgow, the commercial centre of Scotland. Glasgow was then but a village on the banks of Molendinar, a small stream that flowed into the Clyde, and St Mungo's church, no doubt a mean structure built of clay and wattles, is generally held to have been on the site of the present Cathedral, the foundation of which was laid in the eleventh or twelfth century. St Mungo was a contemporary of Columba, and the two are reported to have met, and to have exchanged gifts and greetings. Legends gathered, in great numbers, round the patron saint of Glasgow, but they are less authentic than most stories of the same kind. Indeed St Mungo's figure is somewhat indefinite, and there is no trace or mention of any successor to him for five hundred years. All the same, there is

little room to doubt that to him, in the first instance, the Britons of Strathclyde owed their conversion to Christianity.

The way was now being gradually paved for the amalgamation of the different races that inhabited Scotland, but some centuries had still to elapse before peace prevailed between them. Another step, however, in this direction was taken when the Angles of Bernicia were Christianised. In the first quarter of the seventh century Edwin of Deira defeated Aethelfrith, king of Northumbria, and took possession of his throne. He was a Pagan, but was converted to Christianity in 627 by Paulinus, Bishop of York. But the Christianity of Northumbria received a decided set-back six years afterwards when, at the battle of Heathfield in Yorkshire, Edwin was defeated and slain by Penda, the king of Mercia, who was a Pagan. Penda's triumph, however, was short-lived, for Oswald, one of Edwin's two sons, who, on his father's death, had sought safety among the Scots of Dalriada, by whom he was converted to Christianity, attacked Northumbria and, at the battle of Heavenfield, about eight miles north of Hexham, was victorious, and regained his father's throne. He proved a strong ruler, and made his power felt among the different kingdoms in Scotland, but the most important fact in his career is that he introduced into his country the religion that had been taught him by the Scots. He sent to Iona for a missionary, and in response there came the second and more famous Aidan, who established himself in Lindisfarne or Holy Isle. Under him the conversion of Northumbria was speedily effected. He also established the Christian faith in Bernicia, founded the monastery of Melrose, and was succeeded in his work among the Angles by St Cuthbert, who did for the Lothians what St Mungo did for Strathclyde. Thus, before the end of the seventh century, the whole of Scotland had been converted to Christianity and acknowledged the rule of the Columban Church.

CHAPTER III

CONFLICT OF RACES AND RELIGION

CHRISTIANITY having been at last established in the different kingdoms of North Britain, it might seem as if all that was now required was that it should be left alone to work out the salvation of the people. But even at this early period those differences arose, not only in doctrine, but in ritual and government, which have been the bane of the Christian Church ever since. The form of Christianity which prevailed at this time in Scotland was the Irish, not the Roman. The monks of Iona did not recognise the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. The Church of Columba was independent of the Pope, and an event soon occurred which brought this out clearly, and which had far-reaching consequences. Oswald, who had been instrumental in introducing Christianity into Northumbria and Bernicia, was in the end unfortunate. His old enemy Penda defeated him in 642 at the battle of Maserfield in Shropshire. The kingdom of Dalriada in turn was overthrown by the Angles, and in 642 also Donald Breac, its king, was defeated and killed in battle. The Britons and Picts now had the upper hand, but under Oswiu, Oswald's brother, Northumbria gained its old leading position. The redoubtable Penda was himself defeated and killed in a great battle against Northumbria in 655, and Oswiu attained to a position which made him practically master over the southern part of Scotland. This power he exercised among other ways by displacing the Irish Christianity of Columba in favour of that of Rome.

The Christianity of South Britain had with the invasion

of the Saxons been practically extinguished along with the natives themselves, and it almost seemed as if the form of Church organisation which was to prevail there was to be that which had been introduced into Scotland by Columba. Aidan and his immediate successors had made great progress in Northumbria, and the monastic system of Iona was fast spreading towards the south. A reaction, however, set in in favour of Rome. Augustine, who in 597 had landed in England and established himself in Canterbury, brought with him the Episcopal form of Church government with the Pope supreme. As a consequence, in a very short time a collision between the two systems took place, and upon its results it depended whether the Columban or the Roman method was to prevail over the whole island. Had the Scoto-Irish system triumphed, the whole of the British Isles would have owed allegiance to the Presbyter-Abbot of Iona. The immediate cause of dispute was in itself trivial enough. It was as to the correct date for the celebration of Easter and as to the form of the tonsure. The Churches differed on these two points, and the quarrel became so violent that a great synod had to be held at Whitby (664) in order to settle the matter. King Oswiu himself presided. The two protagonists were Colman, Aidan's successor at Holy Island, who defended the Irish system on both points, and Wilfrith of York, who pleaded for that of Rome. They naturally appealed to their respective chiefs; the one cited the authority of Columba, the other that of St Peter. 'You own,' cried the puzzled king at last to Colman, 'that Christ gave to Peter the keys to the kingdom of heaven—has he given such power to Columba?' The answer was No. 'Then would I rather obey the porter of heaven,' said the king, 'lest when I reach its gates he who has the keys in his keeping turn his back on me and there be none to open.' For such a reason was the momentous question settled.

One, however, must look a little deeper to find the true significance of the dispute and of the issues involved.

Roman Christianity, which from this moment began to be in the ascendant over the whole island, was based on the civil government of the Empire, and when the Empire itself was broken up the Church quietly appropriated for its own ecclesiastical purposes the marvellous organisation from which all material power had vanished. For the purpose of uniting the different nations of Western Europe under one great system, no policy could have been wiser. It placed a united Church in room of the dismembered Empire, and preserved for religious conquest what had originated in the interests of civil and military government. Irish Christianity had never come under this influence, being monastic and tribal. It grew up under conditions altogether different from those which prevailed on the Continent. Monasteries and churches were planted here and there, and the only authority which they recognised, so far as Scotland and the north of England were concerned, was that of the Presbyter-Abbot of Iona. They would outwardly conform more or less to the tribal conditions which existed, and their unity was more personal, spiritual, and traditional than outward and systematised.

It may of course be said that this form of Christianity was more primitive than that which ultimately took its place, and therefore purer. It does not, however, follow that a development of a system implies corruption. Even if it can be shown that the government of the Columban Church was nearer to that of the first century than the Roman (and both seem to have diverged considerably from it), the question comes to be, what was the kind of organisation best suited for Scotland at the time of which we are speaking? What was the best shape the Church could take for fusing the Scottish people, and fostering the tendencies that were at work in producing a united kingdom? To this there can be only one answer: the organisation of the Roman Church was much more adapted for securing this great end than the tribal organisation of Columba. The latter naturally

encouraged differences and independence, the former tended to abolish them, and to bring the different tribes and races under one central government and control. Its influence helped largely in bringing about the end, which became an accomplished fact fully three centuries later. All the same, the Columban Church had its virtues. It produced a line of missionaries of the highest character, whose hearts were fired with the spirit of propagandists, saints, and prophets, and there can be no doubt that the Scottish Church under the Columban organisation was much purer than it ever was under the dominance of the Bishop of Rome. Nor can it be denied that the spirit of the Columban Church suited, and still suits, the character of the Scottish people ; for in no country in Christendom was the Roman system so violently set aside at the Reformation as in Scotland ; and the subsequent history of the Scottish Church, the Presbyterian system then set up, and even the different secessions that have since taken place, go a long way to prove that the principles inherent in the Columban Church struck roots deep into Scottish soil, and at the present moment are the dominant note in the Scottish Church and Scottish character ; for independence and individuality are strongly characteristic of both. Still, the lesson taught by the decision at Whitby should not be forgotten. The triumph of Roman Christianity came at the right time. It put a check on those tribal feuds, which threatened to perpetuate the divisions that already existed, and it brought the country under the direct influence of the wider and more cultured spirit of Continental Europe. The elements of corruption which were inherent in the Roman system were, for the time being at all events, counter-balanced by its broader outlook. It must have been with sad hearts and a consciousness of failure that Colman and his monks shook the dust of Northumbria off their feet and retraced their steps to Iona. Even at this long distance of time one cannot contemplate their departure without regret. There can be no difficulty in entering into

their feelings, but history has, to a large extent, vindicated their cause; for although institutional religion may be necessary for the very existence of the spirit which it embodies, individual piety, after all, is the essence of religion, and to this the monks of Iona are an enduring witness.

The next century and a half are full of racial and tribal warfare. The country, so to speak, was plunged into a seething turmoil, out of which in the end emerged a united Scotland. One of the events which tended towards this result was an important battle fought at Nectan's Mere, in 685, between the Angles and the Picts. The place is identified with Dunnichen in Forfarshire. The Angles were defeated and Ecgrith their king was slain. The leader of the Picts was Brude, and his name deserves to be remembered, for had he failed in this notable engagement the face of Scotland might have been permanently changed. Ecgrith had made himself a powerful king, and had the Picts been defeated he would undoubtedly have stretched his kingdom beyond the Forth; but the victory of the Picts was a step towards making the Tweed the border-line between what were afterwards to be known as the two countries of England and Scotland.

But not only was the battle of Nectan's Mere the death-blow to the hopes of Northumbria, it also proved fatal to St Cuthbert, the apostle of the Lowlands. He was in Carlisle waiting for news of the battle, and the tidings of Ecgrith's defeat were to him tidings of death. Next to Columba himself none of the early apostles of Christianity deserved better of Scotland than Cuthbert. Born a shepherd's boy on the southern slopes of the Lammermoors, he worked his way to the see of Aidan in Lindisfarne. He was of a poetic temperament, and possessed strong religious convictions, which, under the discipline of a humble, yet hopeful spirit, he communicated to the more than half heathen population of Bernicia. The years of his first apostleship were spent on the Scottish borders.

To him the romantic vales of Ettrick and Teviot, Yarrow and Annan, must have been very familiar. The poetry that garlands the banks of these famous streams had not yet sprung into being; his was the romance of Christian missions, and having made Melrose the centre of his activities, he travelled hither and thither over wild and cheerless dales spreading the truth of Christianity. So deep a mark did he leave upon the country, that his very sayings were handed down and his appearance enshrined in the memory of his comrades; while his *Life* by the Venerable Bede, who ever looked up to him with a profound reverence, has become one of the treasures of Christian biography. 'On foot, on horseback, Cuthbert wandered, choosing above all the remote mountain villages, from whose roughness and poverty other teachers had turned aside. And, like his Irish comrades, he needed no interpreter as he passed from village to village; the frugal, longheaded Northumbrians listened willingly to one who was himself a peasant of the Lowlands, and who had caught the rough Northumbrian burr along the banks of the Leader. His patience, his humorous good sense, the sweetness of his look told for him, and not less the stout, vigorous frame which fitted the peasant preacher for the hard life he had chosen. Never did man die of hunger who served God faithfully, he would say, when nightfall found him supperless in the waste. "Look at the eagle overhead; God can feed us through him if He will"; and once at least he owed his meal to a fish that the scared bird let fall. A snowstorm drove his boat on the coast of Fife; the snow closes the road along the shore, mourned his comrades, the storm bars our way over sea. "There is still the way of heaven that lies open," said Cuthbert.'

The latter period of his life was identified more especially with that part of the kingdom of Bernicia now known as the county of Northumberland. He had left Melrose for Holy Island, and in his old age he filled the see of Lindisfarne. It is possible that in Ecgfrith's defeat he saw not

only a blow to the power of Ecgfrith, but to the Christian religion; for, to his mind, the Picts of North Britain might appear more pagan than they really were. In any case, the news of Northumbria's downfall was to him a stroke so severe that, shortly after it reached him, he retired to his lonely home, and gradually sank until he died. With him also died almost the last witness to the Church of Columba and of Aidan; the headship of Rome, which had already been set up, more and more prevailed, until men soon began to forget that Northumbria had ever owned allegiance to Iona. But the ancient home of Christianity had done its work, and the torch of truth which had been kindled in it was not extinguished, but only passed on to other, if alien, hands.

For many years after the battle of Nectan's Mere North Britain was practically unmolested by the Angles, but the different races in it still continued at war among themselves. One can, however, see the steps that were being taken towards a general and a final peace. A king of the Picts, Nectan by name, whose country had for some time been influenced by Northumbria, became converted to the Roman system of Christianity, and in 710 he imposed his views on his clergy and people. A few years afterwards (717), even Dalriada followed in repudiating its first love, dethroning Columba and putting Peter in his place. Strathclyde was the only part of the country that now remained outside Roman Christianity, and its conversion was only a matter of time. But while the Church was thus practically one and at peace in North Britain, the different kingdoms were more or less at war with each other, while some of them were torn by internal dissension as well. This was the case, particularly, with Dalriada. From the time of Donald Breac in 642 we hear of three kings, who belonged, however, to the eighth century, having ruled in succession—Sealbach, Dungal, and Alpin. Not much more than their names is known about them. The man who stands out by force of character and exploits at

this period is a king of the Picts, Angus MacFergus, who began to reign in 731. He conquered Dalriada, made war on Northumbria, and then, in alliance with Northumbria, subdued Strathclyde. In 756 he extended his conquests over that kingdom until he seized its chief seat of Alcluyd, or Dumbarton. Angus reigned for thirty years, and when he died (761) he was master of the whole of North Britain with the exception of Bernicia.

It is probable that unless a new foe had appeared on the coast of Scotland, the kingdom of the Picts might have absorbed Bernicia as well ; but about this time the Northmen began to invade the country. This new departure took place in the reign of Constantin I. He began to reign in 789, and in 794 the Northmen, after devastating Northumbria, made their first appearance in the Western Islands, and it was not until towards the end of the thirteenth century that Scotland regained them. One of the places they attacked was Iona. In 802 they burned its buildings, and four years later they again assailed it and slaughtered sixty-eight persons. The hold of the Northmen on Scotland was never so deep or penetrating as on the northern part of England. They made good their position, however, on various parts of the coast, chiefly in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, on the adjacent mainland, and the Hebrides. Their influence, perhaps, was chiefly political ; they broke up the connection that had long remained between Ireland and Scotland. They banded the native races together for protection against a common foe, and they are responsible for the transference of the religious centre from Iona to Dunkeld. The Scots were now, ecclesiastically at least, in closer sympathy with the Picts ; both had accepted the Roman form of Christianity, and their joint interests would lie in working together for the protection of their civil and religious liberty. This union, which was being hastened on by outward circumstances, was very soon, by a natural course of affairs, to become an accomplished fact.

For a quarter of a century after the death of Constantin I. (820) very little is known of what took place in any part of North Britain, but in 844 an event happened which forms one of the outstanding marks in the history of Scotland, and is the first distinct step towards the political union of the country. In that year Kenneth MacAlpin became king of both Picts and Scots. He was a son of Alpin, King of Dalriada, and having made himself master of Kintyre he speedily gained the support of his fellow-countrymen, and with their help invaded Pictland and became its king. The special way in which he secured this end is not accurately known, but he is supposed to have gained the throne as the true heir in the female line. Here we have a case of the smaller country giving a king to the larger, and this was again repeated when Britain itself became united under James VI. of Scotland. Kenneth's achievement would seem to have been managed with considerable ease, and a reason for this may be found in the desire of both Scots and Picts to combine against the Danes. Besides, they were of kindred blood and language, and, belonging originally to different branches of the Celtic race and speaking different dialects, had by this time to a large extent become amalgamated. They both recognised St Columba as the founder of their Church, and his deeds and character were their common possession. Strathclyde and Bernicia were still separate kingdoms, but they also were in due time to be united to what was now a larger country than either. Much was to take place before that could happen, but the chances were in favour of its accomplishment. For Northumbria, which might have joined to itself the Lothians and Strathclyde, was now, and for some time to come, sorely harassed by the Danes, and in its weakened position, in place of being a menace to North Britain, invited attack. Thus forces both internal and external were shaping the destinies of the country.

CHAPTER IV

THE KINGDOM OF ALBAN—KENNETH MACALPIN

It is possible, notwithstanding the comparative scarcity of materials, to trace the movements which tended towards the creation and formation of the Scottish people. We can see the original inhabitants gradually absorbing, or being absorbed by, the invaders who, at different times, settled in the country. First came the Britons, who for many centuries had their home in Strathclyde; then the other great branch of the Celtic stock, who were afterwards known as the Picts; then the Scots from Ireland, who settled in Argyll; and finally the Angles, who worked their way through the border country and Lothian to the Forth. And now a new race appears that never founded a kingdom in Scotland, but for many years attacked and ravaged its shores and penetrated at times far into the interior. These were the Northmen. Many of them never returned to their original homes, but remained in Scotland, chiefly in the north and in the west, and it is interesting to find all these different types in the Scotland of to-day. Even in the same family, representatives of two or more of them can be traced, thus showing that the bloods of the different races and tribes that at various times made their home in Scotland now intermingle freely in Scottish veins. Each contributed its own share to what was afterwards to become the national life and the national character. The religion, law, government, social customs and civilisation of Scotland of to-day had their beginnings in those far-off times, and their development and the special form which they afterwards took were conditioned by the nature and position of the country, by internal feuds and



conflicts, and by the forces that from time to time pressed upon it from the outside. Scotland was in the end to become a distinct and independent kingdom, and the Scottish people were to possess very special characteristics, which were to make them known and respected all over the world. It would seem at first, judging from the mixed nature of the early inhabitants, that a homogeneous nation was the last thing that one could expect. Yet such was the result; and it was accomplished in a much shorter time than, considering the difficulties that had to be overcome, could have been anticipated. What did take place was in a sense blindly achieved, but all the same the historian is driven to the conclusion that in the evolution of nations, as in that of nature,

‘There’s a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.’

An intelligence, unseen and even unnoticed, is at work all the time, and it is only when the end is reached that we, by reflection, can trace its process.

Kenneth reigned for sixteen years (844-860). He was attacked on all sides by the Britons, the Danes and the Angles of Bernicia, but he kept a firm grip on his crown and kingdom. He even carried war into the camp of the enemy, and, anticipating a united Scotland, he invaded Lothian six times and raided it as far south as Dunbar. Iona having been attacked by the Northmen, he made Dunkeld, as has been seen, the ecclesiastical capital of his country. Kenneth rebuilt the church in Iona, which had been ruined by the enemy, and made it a shrine. He showed true statesmanship in choosing Dunkeld as the religious centre of his kingdom, for through it he could draw to the very heart of the country the highest aspirations of both Scots and Picts. St Columba was their common father in God; his bones now rested in Dunkeld, and their reverence for his memory would be a strong bond of union and peace.

From the death of Kenneth, which took place at his palace of Forteviot, until nearly the close of the reign of Constantin III., the combined kingdom of the Scots and Picts had to wage an incessant warfare against the Northmen, who threatened its total overthrow. The strength of the new monarchy, as it may be called, can be seen in the success with which it resisted the different invasions, and finally gathered up into itself all the various elements which in turn seemed prophetic of its destruction. Kenneth was succeeded by his brother Donald (860-863). About him there is very little to record. Kenneth's son, Constantin II., was the next king (863-877). He had to fight for his own existence and that of his kingdom against the Northmen. One of these, Olaf the White, the Norwegian king of Dublin, was specially troublesome, and his son, Thorstein the Red, proved an even more dangerous enemy. He landed on the north coast about 875, penetrated into the interior of the country, but fortunately for the defenders he was cut off by treachery, and his triumphant course of conquest came to an end. Constantin had no enemy to dread on the southern confines of his kingdom, for South Britain, from the Tees northward, was occupied by the Angles, who do not seem to have made any attempts on the country. But in 877 he had to meet a determined invasion of Northmen from Ireland, and he suffered defeat at their hands at Dollar. The invaders marched on to Forgan in Fife, where Constantin again met them in battle, but on this occasion he was not only defeated but slain, along with many of his followers.

The next twenty-three years (877-900) are almost a blank. The period is relieved, however, by the mythical reputation of one of the four kings who reigned during that time, Girig or Grig by name, who has earned the title of 'Liberator of the Scottish Church,' whatever that may mean; and by a fresh invasion by the Norwegians (890), chiefly of the Orkneys and the Western Islands. The latter, from that date until 1266, remained a Norwegian

possession, and were a constant source of trouble to the Scottish kings. It is at this stage that there comes into clear view the rule of the Norwegian jarls in the Orkneys, Caithness, and Sutherland. These new rulers dominated the northern part of the country probably as far south as Inverness, and they held possession of it until the Scottish kingdom was consolidated and strong enough to drive them back to their own land.

A new reign, the longest by far of that troubled time (900-942), succeeds this obscure period; it is that of Constantin III. The kingdom over which he ruled began now to be known as Alban. He was a son of Aodh, brother of Constantin II., and his reign ranks next in importance to that of Kenneth MacAlpin in this early period. He had also to defend himself against the Northmen, whom he defeated in 904 in Strathearn. An important ecclesiastical event took place in his reign. The capital of the kingdom had been transferred to Scone, and on the Mote Hill, quite near it, the king held a national council, in which Cellach, Bishop of St Andrews, and the people vowed to observe the laws and discipline of the faith. This is the only authoritative reference that is made anywhere to the Celtic Church until the time of Queen Margaret, and we can only conjecture the various ecclesiastical matters that were discussed. At this point there occurred another event which had an important bearing upon the future of the country. Donald, Constantin's brother, became king of Strathclyde. The line of Kenneth came to rule what, a short time before, were three separate kingdoms. Bernicia is the only district of Scotland that had a prince of different blood. Strathclyde itself was still a separate kingdom, but the way was being paved for its final union with Alban.

In 918 the Danes made a final effort to capture and occupy the country. On this occasion they made their invasion through Northumbria. Constantin and Eldred, who was ruler of Lothian, combined against the invaders,

who were baffled in their attempt to gain a footing. Constantin's kingdom remained intact, and the Danes never again made any great attempt to secure possession of North Britain. Constantin, however, suffered defeat by an enemy nearer his own doors, the English Æthelstan. In 934 he invaded Alban with success, and three years later he defeated the combined forces of Danes, Scots, and Britons at a place styled Brunanburh, the locality of which is a mystery. It was a great battle, and Constantin, who took part in the fight, escaped, but left a son dead on the field. The pressure upon North Britain was fortunately relieved in 940 by the death of Æthelstan, and Constantin himself, probably weary of the arduous contest which he had to wage on behalf of his kingdom, abdicated in 942 in favour of Malcolm, son of Donald II. He himself retired to the monastery of St Andrews, and spent the remaining ten years of his life in the offices of religion.

Edmund, the English king, was much troubled by the constant invasions of the Irish Danes. He was successful in subduing them, and to secure himself from further attacks, he called in Malcolm I. (942-954) to become his 'fellow-worker,' handing over to him the whole district of Cumbria. This is one of the earliest instances that exists in support of the claim which was afterwards made by Edward I. and successive English monarchs of their overlordship over Scotland. In the reign of Constantin III. something similar took place, when what is known as the *Commendation* of Scotland to England was agreed upon. In the words of the English chronicle the statement runs as follows: '924. In this year was Eadward king chosen to father and to lord of the Scots king (Constantin II.) and of the Scots, and of Regnold king, and of all Northumbrians, and eke of the Strath Clyde Wealas king, and of all Strath Clyde Wealas.' It may be sufficient to point out that this statement has been proved to be full of blunders, and that, like the interpretation which was subsequently put by English writers on Malcolm becoming a 'fellow-worker' of the

English king, boldly transforming this phrase into *fidelis* (one who gives fealty), the wish is father to the thought. The Scottish case against Edward may be summed up in the words of Hume, when he says : 'The whole amount of Edward's authorities during the Saxon period, when stripped of the bombast and inaccurate style of the monks, is that the Scots had sometimes been defeated by the English, had received peace on disadvantageous terms, had made submissions to the English monarch, and had even, perhaps, fallen into some dependence on a power which was so much superior, and which they had not at that time sufficient force to resist.' Indeed, Hume's sensible summary receives ample proof in the case of Malcolm himself, for he is found three years after this supposed understanding in active hostility against his acknowledged superior.

Malcolm's reign would seem to have been as troubled as that of any of his predecessors. He is seen at its beginning endeavouring to extend his borders towards the north, advancing as far as Moray ; and towards its close (949) he is found aiding Olaf Sitricson, Constantin's son-in-law, in an attempt to recover his Northumbrian kingdom. This enterprise drew Constantin from his retirement, and the blood of the old warrior warmed at the sound of battle. One result of this enterprise was the compelling of the English king to hand over the whole district of Lothian to the Scottish monarch. Malcolm died fighting in 954 ; he was slain in battle either in the Mearns or in Moray.

There now follow three kings—Indulph (954-962), Dubh (962-967), and Cuilean (967-971)—to whom Hill Burton's description applies, that each 'was no more than a name and a pair of dates, with a list of battles between.' One fact, however, of interest and importance marks the reign of Indulph. Dunedin, or Edinburgh, now became a Scottish possession. It had been an English stronghold, but was never again to be abandoned by the Scots.

A contest now took place for the Scottish crown, but in 971 it was seized by Kenneth II., son of Malcolm I. He reigned for twenty-four years. He is found defending his kingdom against the Britons, who were evidently still a formidable enemy, and, following the practice of his predecessors, making raids upon the south. In his case, as in that of Constantin III. and Malcolm I., we find the claim of English overlordship is made. Edgar the English king is, on somewhat doubtful authority, held to have granted Lothian to Kenneth on condition of being recognised as his superior. This story has been characterised by Mr. Lang as a 'late Anglo-Norman Chronicle-fable, invented to disguise what really occurred. Malcolm II. in Canute's reign *took* Lothian from Eadulf, and the tale of Kenneth's homage for Lothian is a myth to conceal the facts.' Kenneth's chief troubles were found in the North. The Vikings, in the person of Sigurd the Stout, jarl of Orkney, laid claim to Caithness, and a great battle was fought at Duncansness about 994. Sigurd obtained a Pyrrhic victory. Though Kenneth took no part in this battle he had to defend himself against the Danes, who attacked the western coasts. Iona fell into their hands, and they slew the Abbot and fifteen of the clergy (986). Kenneth himself was assassinated in 995 at Fettercairn in the Mearns.

Kenneth was succeeded by Constantin IV. (995-997) and Kenneth III (997-1005). Both fell in a war of succession. There now steps upon the scene one whose reign (1005-1034), it has been said, marks an epoch in Scottish history as distinctively as those of Kenneth MacAlpin, David I., Robert I., or James VI. This was Malcolm II., son of Kenneth II. What makes his reign so important is the great victory which he gained over the Northumbrians at Carham on the Tweed in 1018. He thereby acquired the much-coveted district, between the Forth and the Tweed, for the crown and kingdom of Scotland. Previous to this noteworthy event Malcolm proved his power in

diplomacy by marrying one of his daughters to Sigurd the Stout, who still laid claim to the mainland of Caithness and Sutherland. And when Sigurd, six years afterwards (1014), fell at the great battle of Clontarf in Ireland, Malcolm secured the succession for his son, a boy of five. He also strengthened his kingdom by the union to it of Strathclyde or Cumbria. Its king having died in the same year as the battle of Carham was fought, the crown fell to the nearest heir, who happened to be Duncan, Malcolm's own grandson. Thus at last, after centuries of strife and bloodshed, there emerges the kingdom of Scotia intact from the river Tweed north to the Orkneys. The Northmen still held sway over the Western Islands and over Orkney and Shetland as well, but with Scotland united their expulsion was only a matter of time. The final cession of Lothian, which was the result of the battle of Carham, is, according to Mr. Hume Brown, 'second in importance to no event in Scottish history. The great results that have issued from it did not immediately appear, yet in the end these results involved nothing less than the transference to another race of the main destinies of the Scottish people. Had Lothian remained in the possession of England, the history of North Britain must have been so different, that it is with Hastings rather than Bannockburn that Carham must be reckoned in the list of British battles.'

The Northumbrians themselves would seem to have had forebodings of the catastrophe that was to overtake them. A comet had, shortly before Malcolm's invasion, appeared in the sky and shone for thirty days, and this they regarded as the forerunner of calamity. Well might they be afraid, for their defeat was disastrous. Never was a more terrible vengeance taken by a conqueror; for nearly the whole population between the Tweed and the Tees was slaughtered. The coveted district was secured to Malcolm by a definite transaction, and it was afterwards confirmed by the famous Canute. As St Cuthbert waited with fear for what he anticipated would be the fatal news of

an English defeat at Nectan's Mere, so a bishop in his old diocese bemoaned the catastrophe that had overtaken his countrymen at Carham, at the same time exclaiming: 'Wretched me, who have served as a bishop in these times, have I lived to such old age to see this overwhelming disaster? The land will never again be what it was! O St Cuthbert, if I have ever done what pleased thee, may the remainder of my life be short.' His prayer was answered, for in a few days afterwards he took ill and died.

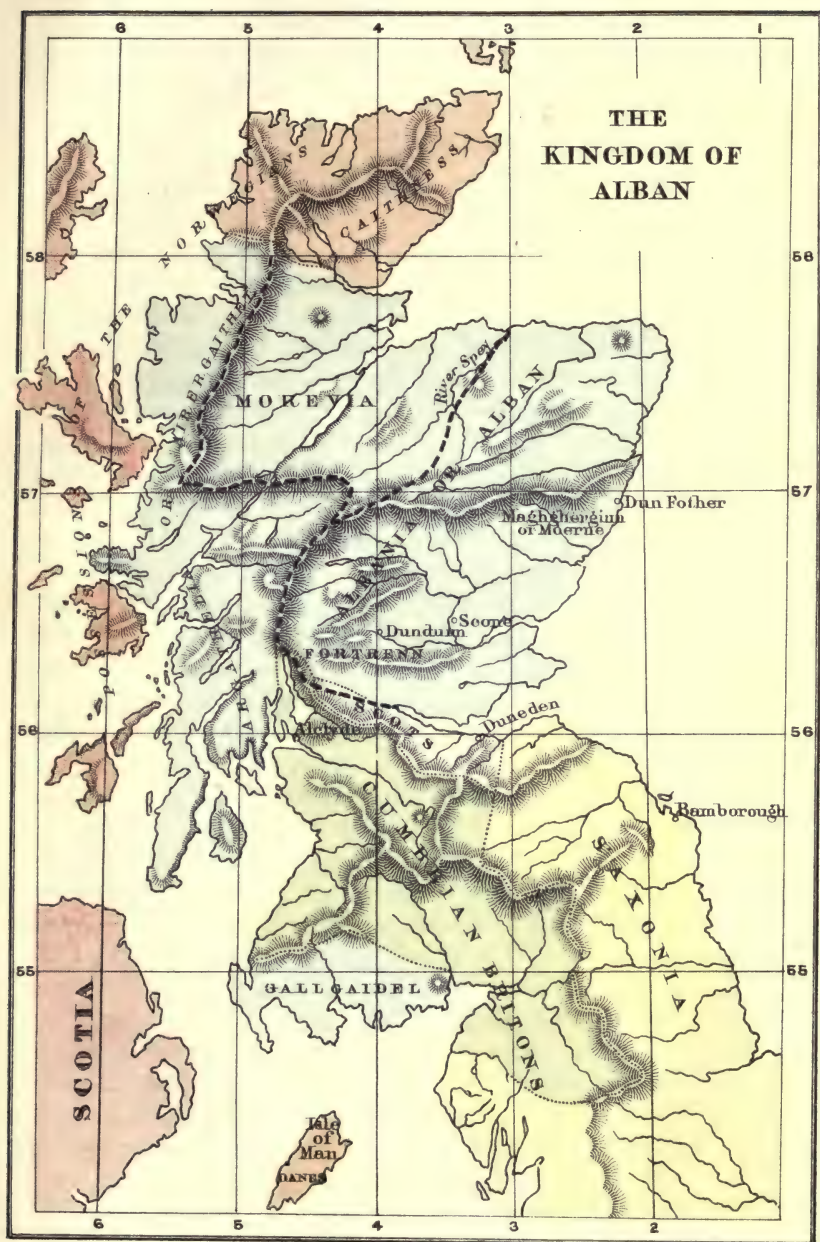
It was not till the reign of Malcolm Canmore, grandson of the victor at Carham, that the full significance and effect of the cession of Lothian to the Scottish crown were felt. It was then that the southern part of the kingdom, chiefly through the influence of Queen Margaret, began to dominate the rest of the country. But even previous to this, Saxon settlers, driven from England by the Danish and Norman invasions, had been arriving in the Lothians, and they naturally influenced the politics and civilisation of the country. Malcolm II., however, could rejoice in the security of his throne, and in being the nominal ruler at least of the whole country, to which was now given the name of Scotia, from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth. Yet he was not allowed to reign over his new dominions without a further struggle.¹ Canute invaded Alban for the purpose, no doubt, of regaining Lothian, and he would seem to have extracted a sort of submission from Malcolm, which only lasted, however, for a 'little time.' The Scottish monarch had also to defend his kingdom against the turbulent Mormaers of the north, one of whom had the hardihood to march as far south as Dunkeld and to burn it (1027). But these raids do not seem to have seriously disturbed his reign. One act, however, on his part sowed the seeds of discord and even catastrophe to his immediate successor, for he is accused of having removed by violence a member of the family of Kenneth, his own predecessor, to whom, according to the Pictish law of succession through the

females, Malcolm's crown must ultimately belong. This he did in order to secure the kingdom for his grandson, Duncan. Malcolm was murdered at Glamis in Angus in 1034.

Duncan's (1030-1040) father was Crinan, lay Abbot of Dunkeld, and his mother was Malcolm's daughter, Bethoc. He was in reality a usurper, and to this fact chiefly may be ascribed the troubles of his reign. His kingdom was attacked on the south by Aldred, Earl of Northumbria, who invaded and devastated Strathclyde, and Duncan, on making reprisal and invading England as far south as Durham, was defeated, his infantry being 'cut off to a man.' He was equally unfortunate in the north. In attempting to bring into submission his cousin Thorfinn, son of Sigurd by Malcolm's daughter, and to place his nephew, Moddan, in one of Thorfinn's earldoms, he suffered defeat, as did Moddan himself, for the terrible Norwegian surprised him in Thurso and slew him with his own hand. Duncan also, in trying to assist his nephew by sea, had his fleet shattered, and in another effort, at Burghead on the Moray Firth, he was again defeated, backed up though he was by the whole strength of his kingdom. Duncan's final calamity, however, came from another source. Macbeth, his chief general, slew him at Bothgouanan near Elgin. This treachery had its cause in the fact that Macbeth was stepfather of Lulach, who, according to the Pictish law of succession, was the rightful heir to the throne. This Lulach was the son by her former husband of Gruoch, granddaughter of Kenneth III., now wife of Macbeth. The general, taking advantage, probably, of Duncan's shattered fortunes, pressed the claims of his stepson, and cleared the way by assassinating the king and stepping into the vacant throne himself.

The new king would seem to have ruled with vigour and success. He made his position secure by defeating Crinan, the late king's father, and slaying him in battle.

He also responded to a passing wave of religious enthusiasm and enriched the Church by his liberality and gifts of land. That his rule and person commended themselves to the people can be seen by the fact that they supported him in meeting an invasion, in the interests of Malcolm, Duncan's son, by Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and in an encounter three years later with Malcolm himself. At last, however, in 1057, Malcolm was successful. He met Macbeth in battle at Lumphanan in Aberdeenshire, and there avenged the death of his father by slaying his assassin.



CHAPTER V

EARLY SOCIAL CONDITIONS

WE have dealt in the previous chapters with the steps which led, by slow, devious, and often bloody paths, to the formation of a united Scotland. The materials at the disposal of the historian in tracing the process are extremely scanty, and their nature is such as to throw very little light upon the condition of the people as a whole. The ancient chronicles and other sources of information concern themselves chiefly with battles, tribal and racial feuds, and the rise and fall of kings ; little light is thrown upon social habits and the other features of the life of communities which are really of more interest and value. Such knowledge as we possess has to be picked up in fragments, and dealt with partly by analogy, and partly by what can be gathered from collateral history, such as that of Ireland or of England. The periods that have already been dealt with afford, for these reasons, little scope to the historical imagination, for to produce results of any value that faculty must have some facts to work upon. It may be for this reason that so much of the ancient history of Scotland, narrated by our early historians, is largely mythical. They had to create, by means of their own fancy ; and pride of country led them into paths which had never been trodden by the foot of man. One such instance may be seen in the story of Macbeth, which was told at the close of the last chapter. He is very unlike the Macbeth of Shakespere, and, it must be admitted, much less interesting. The poet, presumably, followed the accounts which he found in the early Scottish historian, Wyntoun—improved by Hector

Boece and followed by Holinshed—who, according to Mr. Hume Brown, regarded Macbeth as a monster because he stepped in to break the line of succession of the Scottish kings, who were believed to possess an unbroken descent from the earliest ages.

The Scottish people up to this point are a mere name. It is of them that, in these days, one would like to learn, rather than of the kings who follow each other in such quick succession and ‘come like shadows, so depart.’ The chief interest of the nation is in its ancestors, in their mode of life, their social habits, their religious views; in the political conditions under which they lived; in the land which they occupied and the tenure by which they held it. One would also like to learn something about their dwellings, their dress, their food, and the forms of art, if any, which they practised. One would give much to have the veil lifted from those dark and distant ages, and to see our forefathers as they existed between the time when the Romans finally left the country and the beginning of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, when information on these and similar subjects becomes somewhat fuller and more reliable. Still, the researches of the antiquary and the historian have not been altogether in vain. The veil has to a certain extent been lifted, and knowledge, meagre yet genuine, has been obtained. Scattered references in such works as Adamnan’s *Life of St Columba*, Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*, *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*, and *The Book of Deer*, supply stray crumbs, and to these sources there have in recent times been added those archæological discoveries, which in the hands of experts have thrown light upon periods that were hitherto dark, if not altogether unknown.

One of the first questions that the reader naturally puts to himself is: what was the kind of houses in which our Scottish forefathers lived? A thousand years and more have passed away, and it might be thought that such a question must remain unanswered. In a climate like ours,

and in a country, almost every part of which has been devastated by continuous war, remains of the dwellings of the early inhabitants, one would think, could hardly, if at all, be found. And yet discoveries have been made which enable us to draw a picture of the domestic habits of our ancestors that is not without some truth. It can be affirmed, without much fear of contradiction, that their houses were made of wood, clay and turf, sometimes raised on wood foundations. 'One class of dwellings was formed by a wall of upright stakes with twigs interlaced between them, and a second wall of the same kind placed at a short distance apart, and then the intervening distance was filled with turf or clay, making a pretty solid wall; it was then roofed.' If such was the character of the houses or huts which generally afforded shelter to their human inhabitants in those far-off times, there were others of a much more substantial nature, the remains of which are still to be found. In certain parts of Scotland, chiefly in the district known as Strathclyde, there is still to be seen a class of dwelling known as *Crannogs* or lake-dwellings, so called because they are built not on land but in lakes. Some of those lakes have within recent years been drained, and there have been found at the bottom of them the foundations on which were built the houses that sheltered our forefathers. Of course, if there happened to be an island in such a lake, no other foundation was required; but where none existed, then stones and logs and piles were sunk until a solid foundation emerged upon the surface, when the dwelling-house was built. Connection with the shore was established sometimes by a causeway, but more frequently by canoes.

In the year 1863, when Loch Dowalton, in Wigtownshire, was drained, nine of these artificial islands were found. Some sixty years ago a hillock, called the Swan Knowe, at Buston, between Stewarton and Kilmaurs was examined. It stood in the midst of a bog which used to be a lake. It was found that this knowe was nothing else than

the foundation of an old lake-dwelling. On search being made, the trunk of an old canoe was discovered, cartloads of mortised timber were dug out and removed, and ornaments and coins were found, one being a forged English coin of the sixth or seventh century.

But these were not the only kind of houses which our forefathers erected for themselves. They showed their ingenuity in constructing others of a very different nature. These were *Brochs* or Pictish towers, as they were called, and they consisted of a circular stone wall, varying in height from thirty to fifty feet and of great thickness, twelve and even sixteen feet not being uncommon. The area occupied by these *Brochs* was often as much as thirty feet in diameter. They were circular in form and of dry-built masonry, their centres being open to the sky. Round the inner court were the apartments, which looked into it, and the galleries and stairs were within the thick enclosing wall. In the little island of Mousa, one of the Shetland group, a good specimen of these *Brochs* still remains; another can be seen at Yarrow, six miles from Wick. Other specimens are found in the northern counties, chiefly in Caithness, Sutherland and Ross; most of them, however, are in ruins. Such buildings were capable of holding a great many people, and from the nature of their construction they were practically impregnable. One more class of dwelling favoured by the North Britons was underground or *Earth-houses*. These subterranean habitations were entered by a very low and narrow opening, which conducted to a winding gallery or passage that gradually extended until a chamber of considerable size was reached, with floor and roof all flagged with stones. Quite a number of these dwellings are found close together, and above ground in their immediate proximity there are indications of the existence of folds for cattle, and houses, which were evidently meant for occupation in summer weather or in times of peace. These *Earth-houses* are found at intervals from Berwickshire to Sutherland.

The question arises : did our Scottish forefathers erect these dwellings, whether they be *Crannogs*, *Brochs*, or *Earth-houses*, from choice or necessity ? It can hardly be conceived that it was from choice. They were evidently driven to their construction by the exigencies of the hour ; in short, they correspond to the castles of the feudal period and the forts of more modern times. They were built as a defence against enemies. It is supposed that the lake-dwellings came into existence after the Roman occupation, as a protection to the Britons of Strathclyde from the attacks of the Angles. The *Brochs*, again, are held to have come into existence during the period of invasion by the Northmen ; and the *Earth-houses* probably owe their origin to the tribal feuds which existed at a very early date among the Picts. In any case they were the strongholds of the period, and one cannot help admiring the ingenuity which conceived, and the skill which constructed them. They give undoubted evidence of the comparatively advanced civilisation of the inhabitants at the time when they were built. It is clear that the age of savagery, if not altogether of barbarism, had been left behind, and that an advance had already taken place towards a higher condition of existence.

One, indeed, has only to reflect on the various kinds of relics that have been found in those dwellings to perceive this. In Loch Dowalton, for instance, where there are the remains of no fewer than nine dwellings, a diligent search has discovered a hearthstone, and the bones of oxen, pigs and sheep. On the land that stretched far away beyond the loch, and on which giant oaks grew that showered their annual crop of acorns, herds of swine would browse ; grazing, too, would be found in open patches for sheep and cattle ; and small enclosures of arable land would be cultivated, and bring forth a meagre harvest of cereals. There also were found an iron axe, a bronze saucepan, a hammer-head, a fragment of a leather shoe, and the period of occupation was fixed by the discovery that the saucepan

had the owner's name stamped on it in Latin. It is clear that while these lake-dwellings may have existed during the Roman occupation, they were certainly inhabited after the world's conquerors had left Britain. It can hardly be conceived, however, that such structures could afford protection against the Roman arms, and indications point to their erection at a later period. On the shore of the lake several canoes were found, each hollowed out of a single tree.

The remains found in the *Brochs* are not unlike those that have been discovered in the *Crannogs*. Relics of iron, pottery and bronze were found in them, also lamps, mortars, combs, querns and articles of lead and silver. Spear-heads, daggers, knives and chisels, all of iron; specimens of workmanship in bronze such as pins, and armlets; a large number of spindle-whorls for spinning with the distaff and spindle, and many fragments of home-made pottery and other articles of domestic use were also obtained. The remains of the food consumed show that the dwellers in these *Brochs*, which are found chiefly near the banks of rivers, lochs and the sea, were good fishers, for the remains of a 'species of whale, the porpoise, the dog-fish, the cod, the haddock; of the oyster, the mussel, the cockle, the periwinkle, and the limpet, were abundant.' The bones of animals such as those found in the *Crannogs* were also discovered, among them being those of the dog, the reindeer, and the roe. In the *Earth-houses* relics, more or less similar to those already mentioned, have also been found, and the similarity of them indicates that they all represent the same period—the age immediately following the Roman occupation.

While the habits of the people in food and clothing, as well as in their housing, must have been very primitive, they were nevertheless not so barbarous as seems in some quarters to be imagined. It is quite evident, from the remains and relics found in the different sorts of dwellings that have been described, that their domestic life was not

without a considerable amount of comfort. Even in pre-historic times there were attempts at agriculture, and after the introduction of Christianity the example of the monks would encourage the people to cultivate the land and till the soil. There is sufficient evidence to show that oatmeal, barley, milk, fish, venison, kale and other vegetables were more or less freely consumed, that each man's wealth was measured by the number of cattle, sheep, and horses which he possessed, and that by them he paid his taxes and his fines. Even manufacture, of course on a very limited scale, was not unknown, and the services of the weaver, the tailor, the shoemaker and the carpenter were called into requisition. Their clothing consisted chiefly of woollen stuffs, and furs of home manufacture. Mr. Andrew Lang thinks that during the period of the Norse invasion the Vikings would set the fashion to the native chiefs and upper classes in the matter of clothes, and as we are not without knowledge of the garments worn by those daring invaders, we can have a fairly accurate idea of the dress which Macbeth, for instance, donned when he held his court or went forth to battle. Mr. Lang draws an amusing picture of the real Macbeth in appearance and garb, as contrasted with the dapper little Englishman who represented the Thane of Cawdor as he appeared on the stage of Garrick.

As it was with the ancient peoples who flourished thousands of years ago in the far East, so it is with our ancestors. Their mode of life and dress and even social habits are drawn on the sculptured stones which research has discovered and excavation brought to the light of day. Many such stones are to be found in Scotland, and while their primary object was to commemorate the dead, the designers of them unconsciously handed down to later times sketches, however rude, of their dress, their weapons, and even their personal appearance. Dr. Mackintosh in his *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, commenting on these stones, remarks: 'They depict the dress of the warrior, the huntsman, the ecclesiastic and the pilgrim. Such important tools and

weapons of the period as the knife, the axe, the dirk, the spear, the sword, the shield, and the bow are all admirably represented. We learn from these representations that the horsemen of the age rode without spurs or stirrups, sat upon peaked saddle-cloths, and used snaffle-bridles with check rings and ornamental rosettes; that they travelled on horseback and wore peaked hoods and cloaks; that when hunting or on horseback armed, they wore a kilted dress falling a little below the knees, and a plaid across the shoulders. When travelling on foot, they wore tight-fitting under garments and a plaid loosely wrapped round the body, and sometimes a tight jerkin with sleeves and belt round the waist. They wore their hair long, flowing and curly, sometimes with peaked beards, at other times with moustaches on the upper lip, and shaven cheeks and chin. They used long bows in war and cross-bows in hunting. Their swords were long, broad-bladed and double-edged, with triangular pommels and straight guards; their spears had long heads and their shields were rounded and furnished with bosses. On horseback they fought with sword, spear and shield; and on foot with sword and buckler. They used two-wheeled carriages with poles for draught by two horses, the driver sitting on a seat over the pole, and the wheels had ornamented spokes. They used high chairs with side-arms, carved backs, and sometimes ornamented with heads of animals. Their boats had high prows and stern-posts. They used trumpets, and played beautifully on the harp. The ecclesiastics of the period wore long dresses, which were richly and elaborately embroidered; they walked about in loose short boots, and carried crosiers and book-satchels in their hands. Such,' he concludes, 'are a few of the many historic and interesting facts which are portrayed with striking distinctness on these monuments.'

There is more difficulty in coming to a clear finding as to the form of political organisation under which the people lived during the period under review. But the general

opinion based on such evidence as is available would seem to be that, as among other nations, it was originally tribal, that only after long years of development did those institutions spring up which are associated with communities that are fully civilised. Information of a much more definite kind is in our possession as to the political conditions which prevailed in Ireland about the same time, and as the Celts of Scotland would naturally transplant the customs that existed in their original home, the historian is not altogether without guidance on this important subject. The usual conception of national evolution starts with the patriarchal foundation of society, and as the family grew and sent out different branches it would gradually expand into a tribe. While kinship would be at the root of the primitive political life of the Scottish people, other elements, due chiefly to conquest, would gradually creep in, until the tribe grew to the large dimensions which would seem to have characterised it.

Although in the time of Kenneth MacAlpin, and still more notably in that of Malcolm II., one king would seem to have reigned over the greater part of the country, we hear, nevertheless, of other kings who, if they had not independent rule, must have exercised considerable authority. But there was, in any case, another class of rulers styled Mormaers, and these may have been the same as the minor kings just referred to. In later times these Mormaers were known as Earls, of whom there would seem to have been seven, and under them again, in extent of rule and also in power, were Toisechs, about whom we do not know much, but whose duties would appear to have been military. As time went on they came to be known as Thanes. The people themselves would be divided into 'Free' and 'Unfree,' and if the latter were not slaves in the usual sense of the term, their rights, if they had any, would be very limited, and they were bound to, and probably went with, the land.

This naturally raises the question: To whom did the

land itself belong ? At the earliest period of which we have any record, and for a considerable time afterwards, there was little, if any, personal property in land. It was common to the tribe ; but in the usual course of conflict and conquest individual property naturally sprang up. The strongest tribe would become the largest owners of land, and the strongest man or family would in the course of years appropriate the chief share of what at one time was common to the tribe. Indeed, we know from *The Book of Deer* that not only the King, but the Mormaers and Thanes as well, had individual right in the land, for they made gifts of certain parts of their possessions to the Church. There is no reason to suppose that the growth of personal property in land, as in anything else which at the time was a source of wealth, was different in Scotland from what it was in other nations of which we have record. One system of land tenure followed another, but to begin with it was the strong tribe or family or individual who became the chief proprietor. Nor has the custom changed. Government may step in to restrict or to adjust the ownership when individual right becomes a national injustice, but after a new start the strong man again comes to the surface, and inequalities are created which may demand a fresh rearrangement.

Obscurity, even of a darker hue, veils the progress of religion for the three hundred years that elapsed between the close of the Venerable Bede's *History* and the coming of the Saxon Margaret (731-1070). Although the Columban system had been officially overthrown at the famous synod at Whitby, the rule of Rome was still more a name than a reality. The weakening of the kingdom of Northumbria was to a large extent responsible for this, for in its fallen fortunes it could not compel the Scots to accept either its civil or ecclesiastical authority. During this period, accordingly, the Presbyter-Abbot would be supreme in the Scottish Church, ordination being left as heretofore to the Bishop. The special form of monasticism which the Columban Church favoured spread over the country, and

grew to such an extent that abuses crept into it. The peculiar form of corruption which was so well known at a later date sprang up, and monks who had received gifts of land for religious purposes used their possessions for worldly ends. It was, perhaps, as a reaction against this that a class of hermits came into existence, who have ever since been known as Culdees. Their name implied that they were 'friends of God' or 'servants of God,' and the first record of them is in the Chartulary of St Andrews, in which it is mentioned that Brude, the last King of the Picts (died 706), had 'given the island of Loch Leven to God, St Serf and the Culdee hermits there.' After this reference to them is not uncommon. This body of monks were noted for their devoutness and extreme simplicity of life. After the manner of anchorites, they subjected themselves to extreme forms of self-denial and penance. Their very unworldliness gained them the world, for their possessions became numerous and valuable. They had religious houses in different centres, and they held immense tracts of land. Many of their abbots were laymen, and held rank equal to the greatest nobles, and many of the monks were married men. They at first manifested great missionary zeal, and members of their order were to be found in most European countries. When at their best they occupied themselves with their sacred office. They cultivated the land, and set an example in those civilising pursuits which would have their effect upon the rude people. Many of them employed their ample leisure in transcribing various books of Holy Writ, often embellishing them with artistic designs which still delight the modern reader.

Indeed, the Scottish people even at this early age manifested an artistic talent of no mean order. Brooches of rare workmanship have been discovered in various parts of the country. Armlets of spirally twisted rods of gold, massive collars of cast bronze, and other ornaments have been found, which afford ample proof of the genius of the Celt for artistic design and skilled execution. Of a silver

brooch which was discovered in 1826 at Hunterston, six miles from Largs, and which measures about four-and-a-half inches in diameter, is elaborately decorated in the Celtic style, and in many of its features resembles the illuminated decorations of the manuscripts of the Gospels, it has been remarked: 'The skill of its workmanship is such that it is questionable whether it could be greatly surpassed by the most skilful workmanship of to-day. It is only when its details are examined with a magnifying glass, that the fitness and beauty of their minutest rendering become fully apparent.'

While copying passages or books of the Bible, the monks would seem to have attempted little or nothing in the way of original composition. In any case, only a few specimens of the writings of the period under review have come down to us. To Iona belongs the glory of being the home not only of the Scottish Church, but also of Scottish literature. It was there that Cumme wrote his *Life of St Columba* (669). This formed the basis of Adamnan's subsequent *Life*, which seems to have been finished about the year 700. His work was written in Latin. But the most interesting, as it is the earliest specimen of Gaelic writing on parchment in Scotland, is *The Book of Deer*. It contains portions of the Gospels of St Matthew, St Mark and St Luke and the whole of the Gospel of St John and the Apostles' Creed, all in Latin; but the most valuable feature is a note in Gaelic found after the Apostles' Creed, and penned by the scribe who wrote the Gospels. It has been thus translated: 'Be it on the conscience of every one in whom shall be for grace the booklet with splendour; that he gave a blessing on the soul of the wretch who wrote it.' The memoranda inscribed in Gaelic on the blank pages and on the margins are believed to have been written in the eleventh century. Adamnan refers to other writings, but they, probably with much more, have perished.

The religious life of the people was, as might be expected, largely superstitious. Many of the old beliefs and customs

which they inherited from their heathen ancestors still remained, and they have floated down through the centuries to our own times. They were grafted on the new faith, and affected many of its features. The childlike belief in miracles that prevailed receives ample testimony in the *Life of St Columba*, who was credited with performing wonders that would have been the envy of Eastern magi. Still, reading between the lines, one can catch the spirit of the times and many of their social and domestic customs. Quite as much skill has to be expended in reading the ancient chronicles as in deciphering their buried monuments and in interpreting their sculptured stones. And, when all is said and done, one has to admit that there has been much groping in the dark, and that the ages preceding the reign of Malcolm Canmore still stand in need of illumination to make them intelligible and living to the modern mind.

CHAPTER VI

KINGDOM OF SCOTIA—MALCOLM CANMORE, 1057-1093

WE now enter upon a new chapter in Scottish history. A fresh element is introduced into what was rapidly becoming the national life, and the seat of government is changed from the north to the south of the Forth. This was due partly to the new trend that was given to the course of affairs by the conquest of Lothian and the migration to it of the Saxons, who were being driven out of England by the Norman Conquest, and partly to Malcolm, commonly called *Canmore* or 'Big-head,' whose reign (1057-1093) has now to be sketched, having from his long residence at the English court imbibed southern ideas. His crown, too, having been gained for him by the assistance of English friends, he was naturally in sympathy with those who accompanied him north; others soon followed, and a new race began to be incorporated with the Scottish people. Malcolm's reign is thus of great importance as being the first in which Celtic institutions were influenced by English ideas, and in which also methods of government hitherto foreign to Scottish soil are seen paving the way for those political and even social and religious changes that have developed into the forms with which we are now familiar. Malcolm himself is the first of the Scottish kings whose figure and character stand out with marked distinctness on the historical canvas. The records of his reign are meagre and scanty, but yet they are sufficient to impress us with a strong and energetic personality, impelled by a rude and passionate nature, with furious outbursts, and yet controlled by political foresight, and softened by the deep affection which he bore to his English queen.

The new king was fortunate in his relations to, and his hold over, the different parts of his kingdom. The old feuds that had existed between the Picts and Scots, the Britons of Strathclyde and Angles of Bernicia, still smouldered, but Malcolm was able to lay his hand upon the conflicting races, and to unite them under a common rule. His father, Duncan, had been King of Strathclyde, his own long residence in England gained him the sympathies of the Angles of Lothian or Bernicia, his marriage with Ingibiorg, widow of Thorfinn, gave him the support of the men of Moray, his descent from Crinan, the lay Abbot of Dunkeld, procured for him the influence that belonged to that dignitary's family, and his connection through his mother with the Danes of Northumbria drew to his side that powerful race. His position at home being thus secure, his whole energy was devoted to the strengthening of his kingdom on the southern border, from which alone serious danger could arise, and for this end he made no less than five incursions into England, which were marked by an unprecedented ruthlessness, and the memory of which lived for many a long day.

It might be thought that the Angles of Lothian, in place of aiding Malcolm, would have looked towards reunion with their own country, and that the southern kingdom would have placed itself in touch with them, and so paved the way for the conquest of Scotland. But England had so many troubles of its own that such a course was impossible, and the Conqueror's treatment of his Saxon and Anglian subjects bred a resentment in the breasts of their kindred across the Border which tempted reprisal rather than conciliation and support. Malcolm's policy received fresh inspiration from his marriage with Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Atheling, the heir to the English throne. The Atheling with his two sisters, Margaret and Christina, sought refuge in Scotland, and Malcolm, his first wife having died, married the English princess (1068), and thus as the natural champion of her brother's cause he felt

justified in repeatedly invading England. He probably also perceived that unless he extended his dominions beyond Cumberland, which he claimed as a part of the ancient kingdom of Strathclyde, his possessions north of the Tweed would be endangered. While Malcolm's interests might thus seem to lie outside his own country, his actions tended towards the uniting of the different races that still required a more thorough intermingling before the national life could be consolidated. Had there not been a common danger, the natural enmity between Scots, English, and Northmen, which caused subsequent trouble, might have developed into an internecine strife that would have indefinitely delayed, if not rendered altogether impossible, the unification of the kingdom; but under Malcolm they were allied, for the time being at least, in defending the country from a foe appearing on the horizon, whose purpose, it was surmised, might be the absorption of the whole country under his own rule.

Malcolm having within the first year of his reign disposed of Lulach, who was set up by the men of Moray as Macbeth's successor, and being only once again troubled (1077) by a rising in the north, whose object was to put Lulach's son on the throne, felt himself free for those repeated incursions into England for which his reign is memorable. The first of these was in 1061, and in its ruthlessness not even the sacred island of Lindisfarne was spared. The second, which took place in 1070, was the most terrible of them all. It was undertaken in behalf of the Atheling, but the fury of it finds its explanation in the fact that Cospatric, Earl of Northumberland, a friend of Malcolm, took advantage of the Scottish king's incursion into England to harry Cumberland in the interest of the Conqueror. The news of this raid provoked Malcolm to such a degree, that, giving way to one of his ungovernable fits of passion, he ravaged the country with unprecedented fury, slaughtering indiscriminately as he

advanced, and returning home with so many captives that, as we are told, there 'was not a village or even a cottage in Scotland where some English slave or handmaid was not to be found.' Conduct of this kind could not be ignored by William, whose heavy hand Malcolm was soon to feel. He led a naval and military force against Scotland two years after Malcolm's last raid (1072), and found the Scottish king at Abernethy. Here an agreement was entered into by them, one condition of which was that Duncan, Malcolm's eldest son by his first wife, should remain as a hostage in the hands of William, and the other, that Malcolm should become 'William's man.' Whether this was in recognition of the twelve *villae* that Malcolm was to receive in England, or as homage paid for the kingdom, or for one or both of the outlying provinces of Cumbria and Lothian, is not certain. In any case this, like former 'recognitions,' was more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

The irrepressible Malcolm, taking advantage of William's absence in Normandy (1079), devastated once more the country between the Tweed and the Tyne, and Robert, the Conqueror's successor, crossed the Tweed to make reprisals. He returned empty-handed, as the enemy had retreated and left the country desolate. Twelve years afterwards (1091) hostilities broke out between the two countries, Malcolm being again the aggressor. On this occasion it was William Rufus, the Conqueror's son, that he had to deal with. The English monarch advanced as far as Lothian, and, through the good offices of his brother Robert and the Atheling, the two armies met without striking a blow, and the farce of Malcolm doing 'right' to Rufus is once more played, one condition of the treaty being that Malcolm was to retain the lands granted by previous English kings. The failure of Rufus to implement this agreement was the cause of Malcolm's fifth and last incursion into England, and of his death. Hearing that Rufus was lying ill at Gloucester and in a conciliatory mood, Malcolm

demanding the fulfilment of his rights. Rufus invited the Scottish king to Gloucester, but when Malcolm arrived he refused to see him. The Scottish king's passionate nature could not brook such an insult. Returning home, he gathered an army, and before the close of the year marched at its head across the Tweed. In the battle that ensued, on or near the banks of the Alne, Malcolm and his eldest son were slain. His army was defeated, and his body carried in a cart to Tynemouth, where it lay for twenty years, when it was buried beside his wife's at Dunfermline in the new church which they had founded there.

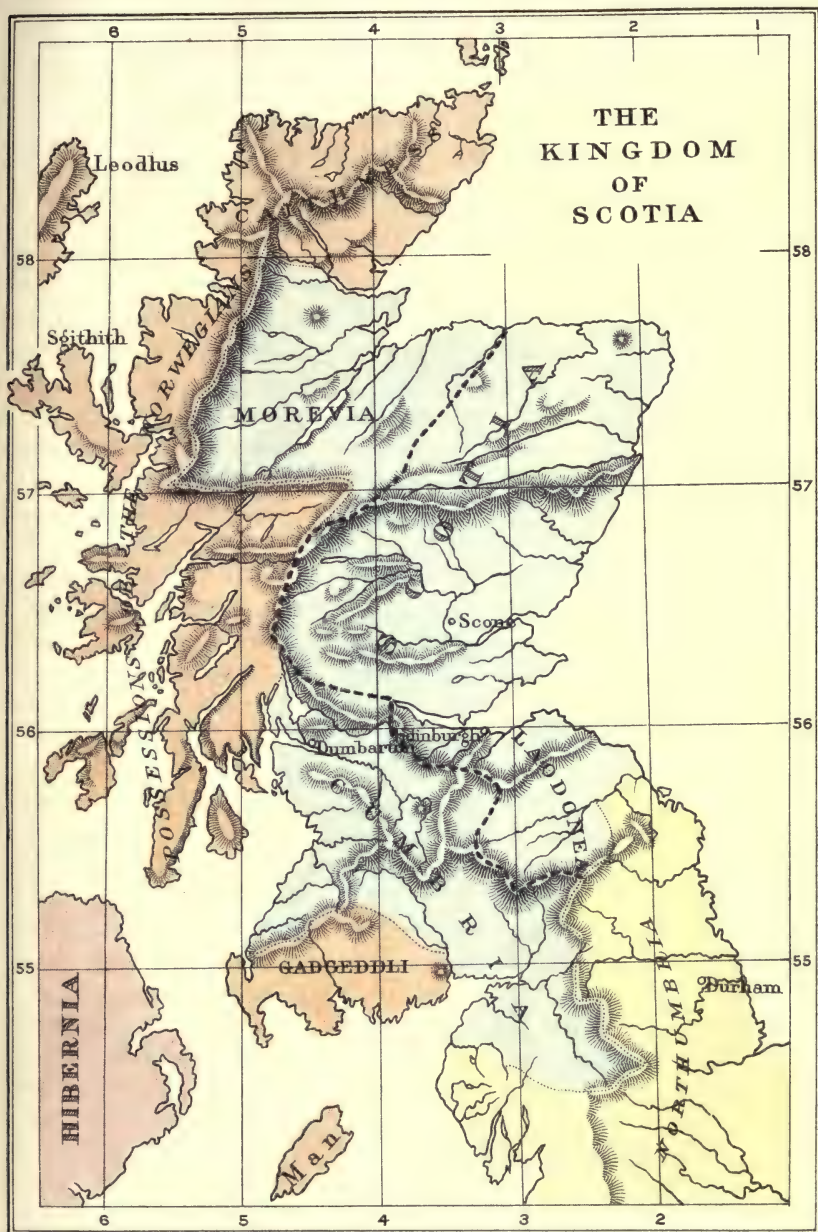
This crushing tragedy proved a death-blow to Margaret. She was seriously ill when Malcolm went south, and pled with him to remain at home, in vain. The sad tidings were conveyed to her at the castle of Edinburgh, where she was lying, by her son Edgar, and she did not survive the loss she had sustained. Her body was stealthily removed to Dunfermline to prevent outrage. The bad feeling between Celt and Saxon which Malcolm kept under control might now with his death, it was feared, break into open strife, and hence the secrecy of Queen Margaret's burial. Indeed, had it not been for the strong hand of Malcolm and from his having Celtic blood in his veins, an open rupture might long before this have taken place between the two races. For not only did numbers of Saxons find a home in the south of Scotland, but English customs were introduced and forced upon the people by the English Queen. Margaret's biography, as written by her confessor Turgot, gives perhaps an exaggerated portrait of its subject, a picture without flaw or blemish; but it is evident that she combined worldliness with saintliness in a manner and to a degree not unknown since or before, but which fail to win for her the absolute devotion, if not admiration, that has been so freely granted to her less pious, but more human descendant, Mary, Queen of Scots. Margaret strengthened the power of the court by making it more imposing. She supplanted

common servants by nobles, and encouraged a display in dress, in jewellery and table appointments which tended to enhance the throne. To do her justice, she encouraged similar improvement in the dress and manners of the people, and helped to foster and to spread those habits which indicate civilisation in a nation.

Margaret is credited with having had great, if not undue, influence over her husband. She tamed his fiery spirit and imbued him with a share of those graces which are the amenities of social and public life. It is in her association with him that we have the first tokens of the saintly spirit for which she is remembered and admired. Her saintliness, however, was that of the times, and found expression in acts of self-denial and service to which the mediæval ascetic set the fashion. It is said that at certain times of the year she, along with her husband, washed every morning the feet of six beggars. Nine little orphans were then brought, whom she fed ; and she and the king supplied the wants of three hundred poor people. If Malcolm did not participate in her acts of devotion, he at any rate royally bound her books, which he could not read, in gold, embossed with precious stones ; and his purse was ever at her command for private charities. Inspired by her, he founded churches, that of Dunfermline in particular being a monument to their joint piety.

It was in relation to the Church and the changes that she introduced into it, that one sees most clearly the reforming zeal of Margaret, and it is in this connection also that she may have provoked most resentment and opposition on the part of her Scottish subjects. It is morally certain that the Celtic population looked with little favour upon her English speech and ways. The fact that to each of her six sons she gave an English name could not be to their liking, but, then as now, a change in the creed or ritual of the Church would touch the people most closely. She, of course, belonged to the Church of Rome, which was not originally the Church of Scotland ; the Scottish Church as founded by St Columba had distinctive features, as we

have seen, that were more closely allied to the apostolic and primitive Church. But it had in recent years to bow its head before the ecclesiastical power which was centred in the Eternal City, and which had made itself felt all over Western Europe. Still, the Scottish Church clung tenaciously to as many of its original forms and customs as remained, and these Queen Margaret now determined to change so that it might be brought into conformity in all respects with the Church of Rome. She held councils for the consideration of these matters with the clergy, and at one of them, at which Malcolm himself acted as an interpreter, the following reforms were agreed upon: 'The beginning of Lent on Ash Wednesday, reception of the Eucharist on Easter Day, a reformed ritual of the Mass, a stricter observance of the Lord's Day, and the suppression of marriage with a stepmother, or with a deceased husband's brother.' These changes, with the exception of the two last, do not seem fundamental or vital, and hardly worthy of the three days' debate which the Queen waged, single-handed, against the Scottish clerics. But they all but completed the desired process of conformity, and left at the same time behind them a certain feeling of soreness which has not altogether died out.





CHAPTER VII

SCOTO-ENGLISH KINGS: EDGAR, 1097-1107—

ALEXANDER I., 1107-1124

THE death of Malcolm was the signal for the revolt of the Celts. His strong hand had held together the different races, which only required an opportunity for breaking out into open strife. There was a bitter feeling on the part of the older inhabitants against the late queen, and her sons and their English friends were forced to seek safety in flight. It is not, therefore, surprising to find the Scots choosing as king, Donald Bane, Malcolm's brother, who by the law of tanistry was the rightful heir. His reign, however, was brief—he held authority for six months only (1093-4)—for Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first wife, crossed the Border from England, where he had lived many years as a hostage, and, supported by Rufus and the Norman nobility, wrested the sceptre from his uncle's hands. It is more than likely that the English king saw in Duncan a useful tool, for the latter's long residence in England made him practically a Norman, and his sympathies were all in support of English influence in his Scottish kingdom. While the men of Alban would have no objections to him on the score of descent, they naturally disliked the nationality of those who formed his court. They accordingly rose against him, cut off his army and all but slew himself, and their revolt was only quelled on Duncan promising to dismiss the Normans and English whom he had encouraged to accompany him north and to make Scotland their home. Duncan's reign, however, was as short-lived as Donald's, for a strong combination was formed against him, and before its attack he went down.

Donald Bane, in conjunction with Edmund, Margaret's unworthy son, and MacLoen, the Mormaer or Earl of Mearns, united in an effort to supplant Duncan. Donald and MacLoen met him in battle at Mondynes, near Bervie in Kincardineshire. Duncan fell, and a great stone was erected, and still stands, to mark the spot where he died. The uncle and nephew, Donald and Edmund, agreed to divide the kingdom between them, and they ruled it for three years (1094-7). But at this juncture a new aspirant to regal honours made his appearance : this was none other than Edgar, a son of Malcolm and Margaret. The leader in this attack was Edgar the Atheling, who was now living at the English court. Helped by Rufus, and accompanied by Norman knights and a strong following, he entered Scotland. Donald was captured and had his eyes put out ; Edmund was also seized and imprisoned. The way was therefore open for Edgar, who mounted the throne, which he managed to hold for ten years (1097-1107).

The surname of the new king indicates how contrasted in character he was to his warlike father. He is known in history as Edgar the Peaceable. His English sympathies were shown by the fact that he made Edinburgh and not Dunfermline his capital ; indeed, he depended for support in his difficult position on his southern friends. The country was still fiercely divided, and it almost seemed as if the peoples, who had through the course of years become more and more united, partly by the powerful rule of one or other of their kings, and partly by the chance of succession, were again to be broken up and made an easy prey for the growing strength of England. Edgar called himself 'King of the Scots,' but he found it necessary, in dealing with his subjects, to employ both the Gaelic and the English tongue. The peacefulness of his reign was due no doubt principally to his own nature, but may also be attributable partly to the fact that he was in close alliance with the English king, and that

his sister Matilda, or Maud, who was looked upon by the English as the rightful heir to their throne, married Prince Henry, afterwards Henry I., a son of the Conqueror. This marriage, while uniting Normans and English, gave increased importance to the Scottish reigning house; and the fact that Edgar could always rely upon the strong support which this alliance procured for him, helped of course to keep his unruly subjects quiet.

But trouble made its appearance from an unexpected quarter. Magnus Barefoot, King of Norway, who laid claim to the Orkneys and the Western Isles, hearing of their revolt and of the slaughter of his lieutenants, determined on a punitive expedition (1102). His wrath surpassed in its terrible fury that of Malcolm Canmore himself in his repeated incursions into Northumberland, which he claimed as a part of his kingdom. Edgar was no match for his opponent, and he thought that a pacific way out of the difficulty was the wisest and best. He therefore made a treaty with the Norwegian king, by which he ceded all the Western Islands 'between which and the mainland a helm-carrying ship should pass.' Kintyre was included in this compact, and the story goes that Magnus secured it by causing one of his ships to be transported across the head of the peninsula, between East and West Loch Tarbert. He accordingly maintained that by this transaction he fulfilled his bond.

Clear evidence of Edgar's difficulty in ruling the two portions of his kingdom, which were divided in race and separated in sympathy, is found in his decision to apportion them between his two brothers, Alexander and David, whom he named as his successors. Alexander was as king to rule the portion north of the Forth with Edinburgh thrown in, while David was to govern Cumbria and the greater part of Lothian with the title of *Comes* or Earl. That this arrangement should have proved successful during the lives of the two brothers arose from the fact that each respected the other's personality and power. Alexander

may have thought that David, with an inferior title, would have given way and left him sole sovereign, but David was a man of strong character and could not be thus effaced ; besides, he had the support of the English king and of the increasing numbers of strangers who were now crossing the Border. The arrangement worked smoothly enough until Alexander's death, when David became the king of what was never again to become a divided Scotland.

Alexander I. (1107-1124) earned his nickname, the Fierce, by the effective manner in which he suppressed a rising in the north, brought about probably by his attempts to anglicise both Church and State. The very names of the chief personages who surrounded his throne show the difficulty he must have had in introducing English ideas, for they were Celtic, whereas those from whom David sought counsel were Norman. But with this revolt once quelled, Alexander would seem to have had no further difficulty, and he governed with a vigour and success which remind one of his warlike father. He married Sibylla, a natural daughter of Henry I., and the English king, being thus doubly allied both with Alexander and David, took advantage of the troubles of the northern kingdom and built Norham castle on the Tweed, thus showing that Northumberland, whatever it may have been in the reign of Malcolm Canmore, was now English territory. Alexander, like his brother David, inherited his mother's love for the Church. He founded the monastery of Scone in gratitude for his deliverance from his Celtic nobles, filling it with Augustinian monks from Yorkshire. He also founded a priory in an island in Loch Tay and the monastery of Inchcolm. But he was politic as well as pious. He attempted to establish diocesan episcopacy, and founded the sees of Moray and Dunkeld. The Celtic bishop of St Andrews having died (1093), the see remained vacant for some years. Alexander appointed the English Turgot, but he dismissed him when he discovered that he favoured the supremacy of York. Turgot had as his successor

Eadmer, and he also was dismissed for favouring the supremacy of Canterbury. The king at last found a bishop to his own mind in Robert, Prior of Scone, who no doubt upheld the supremacy of the Scottish hierarchy. Alexander also enriched St Andrews with a gift of land known as the *Cursus Apri*, or Boar's Raik, in the neighbourhood of the city, and a singular if not significant incident in connection with this grant was that the transaction was gone through according to Celtic custom.

Alexander's generosity to the Church was emulated by David, who, while still an earl, revived the see of Glasgow. It seems clear that while the sons of Margaret were animated by their mother's piety, they were also inspired by a desire through their ecclesiastical policy to bind closely to the throne not the least important section of the community. Alexander died in 1124, and having left no direct descendant he was succeeded by his brother David.

CHAPTER VIII

DAVID I., 1124-1153

THE reign of the new king is regarded on all hands as one of the most important in the history of Scotland. By his character and training he succeeded in uniting under his sole rule the two portions of the kingdom that threatened to become permanently divided. Had Alexander been succeeded by a sovereign less politic and able than David, the country might have become a prey to mutually opposing forces which, if let loose, would have effected its ruin. It is in David's reign that the Norman incursions into Scotland become most marked, and that those feudal institutions which characterise the period established themselves. The Saxons, who had either migrated into Scotland or had been taken captive, became absorbed in the growing national life, and their blood mingled with that of the older inhabitants. That was to be the case with the Normans also, but the process took a longer time. They were chiefly of the nobility, and maintained their class distinction. Their influence, however, was even greater than that of the Saxons, but that influence was reacted upon by the older life and institutions of the country which gave it a stamp of its own. It is by this intermingling of customs as well as of races that there grew up the Scottish people, with those distinctive features which marked them off from their neighbours across the Border and the other nations of the world.

For the first ten years of his reign David maintained friendly relations with his brother-in-law, the King of England, and it was not until Henry's death (1135) that enmity sprang up between the two kingdoms. In the

meantime, however (1130), David had trouble in his own country, for the men of Moray, as was their custom, disputed the sovereignty of the reigning monarch and attempted to set Angus, Mormaer of Moray, and grandson of Lulach, in his place. Angus, who was assisted by his brother Malcolm, gathered a force so formidable, that he threatened the throne itself. Their large following was a proof of the detestation in which the new rule and the new men were held by a large section of the nation. The brothers were defeated at Stracathro in Forfarshire, where Angus, with four thousand of his followers, was slain. Malcolm took up his brother's quarrel and for five years maintained a guerilla warfare, but David, calling to his assistance the barons of the north of England, who readily responded, determined to quell the revolt. The news struck terror into the camp of the rebels, and Malcolm, who was betrayed, was imprisoned for twenty-three years in the castle of Roxburgh. Moray itself was definitely attached to the crown, its lands were divided between Normans, Scots, and Saxons, and its power for giving trouble to the Scottish kings, if not altogether destroyed, was permanently reduced.

This fact is interesting, as it indicates what must have taken place in other parts of Scotland. Races, which at the time would be regarded as foreign and alien, found homes in quarters which on the first blush might seem almost inaccessible, and intermingled with the older inhabitants. It is accordingly absurd to draw a line, as some historians do, across a certain section of the country, and to say : On the north the people are all Celts, on the south they are Saxons or Normans. This cannot be done, for the Scottish people, as we now know them, are the offspring of the various races that from the earliest times made the country their home, and it is as easy to find a Saxon, Norman or Danish type in the Highlands, as it is to discover one that is purely Celtic in the Lothians or even on the Border-line. Indeed, in the same family, should

it happen to be large enough, the skilled anthropologist might detect specimens of each and all.

With the death of Henry, David's relations to England became changed. The Scottish monarch was pledged to support his niece, Henry's daughter, the Empress Maud, in her claims on the throne, but Stephen, Earl of Blois, seized the crown, and David felt called upon to invade England. This he did, as after events showed, more in his own interests than in Maud's, for after taking every castle in Cumberland and Northumberland, which he claimed as his own, except Bamborough, he penetrated as far as Durham (1136). Stephen marched north to meet him, and at Newcastle a compact was made by the two monarchs in which Maud's interests were ignored, but by which Prince Henry, David's son, received various possessions in England, with a promise of the earldom of Northumberland, which he claimed as a descendant on the mother's side of Siward, whom the Conqueror had made earl of that county.

The good relations which for the time existed between the two countries were suddenly and violently disturbed, by an incident trifling in itself, but which in the end led to one of the most hotly contested battles fought between the English and Scots. Prince Henry, then resident at the English court, was insulted by the Earl of Chester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who resented the precedence which Stephen gave him over all the English nobles at a great feast. David summoned his son home, and during Stephen's absence in Normandy (1138), he crossed the Border, his wild followers perpetrating ravages similar to those for which his father's incursions were notorious. On Stephen's return David retreated but, the English monarch having been called south owing to the unsettled state of the country, retraced his steps, and with a great army invaded England for the third time. It would seem as if he meant to conquer the country. He had many friends in the north of England who tried to dissuade him from his intention until Stephen returned, pledging themselves

that the earldom of Northumberland should be bestowed upon his son Henry. Two of those who thus approached him possessed names afterwards well known in Scottish history, Robert de Brus and Bernard de Baliol. David rejected their proposals and crossed the Tees to Northallerton, where the famous Battle of the Standard was fought.

Thurstan, the aged Archbishop of York, who at an earlier period had interceded with David to delay hostilities, called upon the barons of Yorkshire to fight for their altars and their homes. He proclaimed a holy war by hoisting the sacred Host on the mast of a ship which he fixed in a wagon, declaring that 'Jesus Christ was present in the battle.' Every section of the Scottish nation was represented in David's army, 'Norwegians from Orkney, Scots from Alba, Picts from Galloway, Angles from Lothian, Norman knights, and apparently even mercenaries from Germany.' But those dissensions which on many a subsequent bloody field lost the day to Scotland broke out. The brave but undisciplined Galwegians claimed the honour of leading the van. David knew that against the steel-clad Norman knights they would have no chance, and he tried to persuade them to waive their pretensions. But they would not yield their pride of place, and the results, as the king feared, were disastrous. The English arrows played their fatal part, the leader of the Galwegians was slain, and the cry went up that the king himself had fallen. This was the signal for retreat, and David with his broken army was compelled to find shelter in Carlisle. Prince Henry had conquered in his part of the field, but with his Scoto-Norman knights he had penetrated too far, in his pursuit, into the enemy's country, and it was not till three days afterwards that, with a mere fragment of his detachment, he rejoined his father at Carlisle.

The Battle of the Standard (1138), far from destroying the Scottish force or disheartening David, would seem to have inspired him with a fresh desire to invade England and avenge his wrongs. Peace was secured partly

through the intervention of Orderic, Bishop of Ostia, but chiefly through his own cousin Maud, the wife of Stephen (1139). His niece was again forgotten in the new compact by which the earldom of Northumberland was to be conferred upon Prince Henry. In the struggle that subsequently took place between Stephen and the Empress Maud, David took little active part, but he is always seen having an eye to his own interests. In 1149 he met Maud's son, the future Henry II., and in view of the young prince's accession to the English throne made satisfactory terms with him. On this, as on every other occasion, he is seen carrying out the policy of his father Malcolm, striving, for the safety of Scotland, to extend his boundaries as far south as possible.

The rest of David's reign was taken up with those internal reforms for which it is chiefly memorable, and these will be referred to later on. Its peace was disturbed by a usurper, Wimund by name, who claimed to be the son of Angus, Earl of Moray, slain at Stracathro. David, finding it difficult to suppress him by force, bought him over by a grant of the lands and Abbey of Furness, and there Wimund put an end to his career by tyrannising over the natives, who in self-defence rose against him, put out his eyes, and shut him up in prison. The great and perhaps only catastrophe of David's reign was the death of his only son and heir Prince Henry. He was the joy of his father's heart and the pride of the nation. David did not long survive his son. The following year he took ill at Carlisle, where he was then staying, and he prepared to meet his fate. 'He passed away,' we are told, 'so quietly, that his attendants did not notice his end. He died at daybreak, when the sun with his rays of light was dispelling the darkness, and he was found with his two hands joined together on his breast and raised to heaven.'

CHAPTER IX

MALCOLM IV, 1153-1165—WILLIAM THE LION, 1165-1214

DAVID was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV., the Maiden, so called from his youth and effeminate appearance (1153-1165). He was only twelve years of age when he began to rule, and the men of Moray, taking advantage of his youth, rose in revolt. They thought they saw their opportunity for ousting the Normans and Saxons from the country, and of gaining the throne for their own hereditary chief. This was Donald MacHeth, son of that Malcolm who, years before, was imprisoned in Roxburgh castle. Donald found a useful ally in his father-in-law Somerled, who for the time had made himself king of Argyll, and who was the ancestor of the Macdougalls of Lorne and of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles. For three years this formidable combination threatened Malcolm's throne, and it was not until Donald was taken prisoner at Whithorn and sent to join his father at Roxburgh castle that the Scottish king could breathe freely. Danger of the revolt recurring was further obviated by Malcolm, Donald's father, being set at liberty and given a place among the nobles who surrounded the throne (1156).

The youth of Malcolm was also taken advantage of by the English king, and what followed shows how it was only by the wise and strong rule of David that peace was maintained at home and power secured on the English border. The two kings met (1157) at Chester, and the result of the conference was that Scotland lost all the advantages which had been gained for it by David. Henry openly broke his oath, and demanded the restoration to England of the counties of Durham, Northumberland and

Westmorland, and all that was granted to the Scottish crown was the Honour of Huntingdon; and to Prince William, Malcolm's brother, Tynedale was gifted as a poor substitute for the earldom of Northumberland. It is suggestive to find Malcolm a year afterwards fighting in the English ranks at Toulouse. He received the honour of a knighthood which, strange to say, he would seem to have coveted at the hands of Henry—a barren honour in view of the substantial losses to which he had to submit.

On his return from France Malcolm found his own country in a restless condition. Ferteth, Earl of Strathearn, with five other earls endeavoured to seize the king at Perth, where he was then residing; but his chief trouble was with Galloway, which was still mainly Celtic, and which resented the intrusion of Norman knights into its territory. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who had made himself only too prominent at the battle of the Standard, led a revolt against the king, and it was only after three attacks that he was subdued. Giving his son Uchtred as a hostage, he himself retired to the monastery of Holyrood, where he spent the remainder of his life as a canon-regular.

Malcolm's troubles were not yet at an end, for Somerled, who has been described as 'probably the greatest hero that his race produced,' sailed at the head of an army gathered from Ireland and the Western Isles up the Clyde to the coast of Renfrew, but while making ready for what must have been a formidable attack on the Scottish throne, he, along with his son, was treacherously killed. Malcolm did not live to enjoy the fruits of this deliverance; he had succeeded in quelling the various revolts which arose partly from his youth, and partly from the fact that the different races of which the country was composed were not as yet fused together into a homogeneous whole. A hundred years were still to elapse before this was to be accomplished. The difficulty which he and his immediate successors and predecessors had to face was of a twofold nature. The various elements

of the Scottish nation had to be kept in check until they were consolidated, and England also had to be watched and repulsed. In accomplishing the latter object, through necessary concessions to Normans and Saxons, Celtic jealousies were aroused. Time and a wise rule were necessary for this. In due course consolidation fortunately took place, so that when the moment of danger did arise, the nation was united enough and strong enough to avert it. Malcolm died at Jedburgh, and was succeeded by his brother William.

William the Lion (1165-1214), so called from adopting a lion as his coat of arms, manifested signs of weakness in the earlier part of his reign, but towards its middle and close he displayed a prudence and strength which enabled him to quell a number of serious revolts, and to free his country from the thralldom of England. He was, to begin with, eager to recover the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, lost to the Scottish crown during the reign of his brother Malcolm; and for this end he sent envoys to France, thus taking the first step towards an alliance which boded both weal and woe for Scotland. His opportunity came in the revolt of young Prince Henry of England against his father (1173). William agreed to assist the royal rebel on the promise of the restoration of Northumberland as far as the Tyne, his brother David at the same time to receive the fiefs of Huntingdon and Cambridge.

Acting upon this understanding, William invaded Northumberland (1174), and assisted by the Galwegians, who ravaged the country in the time-honoured and merciless fashion of the reign of Malcolm Canmore, he laid siege to Alnwick. Here, however, he met with a serious disaster. The barons of Yorkshire, acting much in the same spirit and manner as they did when they marched to the famous Battle of the Standard, surprised the Scottish king while he and his knights were engaged in a tilting match. The

Scots at first mistook them for friends, but on discovering their mistake, William, after the chivalric fashion of the age, rode right against the enemy. His horse was speared, he himself was taken prisoner and conveyed with his legs tied under the belly of his horse, to Northampton, where King Henry then was. The English monarch, who had just done abject penance for the slaughter of Thomas Becket, saw in the prize thus unexpectedly put into his power a sure sign of the favour of Heaven. He carried William to Falaise in Normandy, the home of the Conqueror, put him in irons, and liberated him only after William had agreed to be his vassal for all his dominions north and south of the Forth, the Scottish king giving as a guarantee of his good faith the castles of Berwick, Edinburgh, Jedburgh, Roxburgh and Stirling, and his brother, Prince David, and twenty-one of the leading nobles as hostages. For the next fifteen years William was Henry's vassal, and could not lift his finger against his own rebellious subjects without King Henry's leave.

Not content with the civil supremacy which accident more than valour put into their hands, the English aimed at ecclesiastical overlordship as well. Canterbury and York again put forward their claims, the Scottish bishops evaded them just as William himself did those of the Pope, who contended for the right of appointing a bishop to St Andrews. His Holiness placed Scotland under the Papal ban, but William gained the day, and secured the post for his own chaplain, Hugh.

During all this time the Scottish king had to cope, as best he could, with the civil discord that was raging both in the north and south of his kingdom. Claimants to the throne and unruly Scottish barons, who resented William's subjection to England, and who at the same time saw in the weakness of his position the opportunity of asserting their hereditary claims to the throne, and of securing the expulsion of the Norman and Saxon intruders, rose in revolt. The lords

of Galloway, who came into prominence in the two preceding reigns, again lifted up their heads, razed the royal castles, and freed their country of the barons whom they regarded as aliens. Uchtred, who figured prominently in the previous reign, was murdered by his brother Gilbert, who, with his son Malcolm, made himself master of the district for eleven years. William, taking advantage of Gilbert's death (1185) made Roland, Uchtred's son, Lord of Galloway, and he being more a Scoto-Norman than a Galwegian, and having besides married a Norman wife, proved a valuable ally to the Scottish king.

It was quite impossible, under the conditions that then prevailed, that Moray should remain quiet. It was the home of those who claimed the throne by right, hence Donald Bane or MacWilliam, son of William, son of Duncan, eldest son of Malcolm Canmore, by his first wife Ingibiorg, assumed the sovereignty of the district, and for seven years held almost undisputed sway. William gathered his forces, marched north into Moray (1187), and Roland, the Lord of Galloway, meeting with MacWilliam, gave battle. The northern pretender was defeated and slain.

With the death of Henry, Scotland regained the position which it had temporarily lost by the treaty of Falaise. His successor was Richard the Lion-hearted, and he, longing to head a great Crusade, relinquished his claims on Scotland for ten thousand marks, giving up at the same time the only two castles that were left in English hands, those of Roxburgh and Berwick. William's relations with Richard's successor, King John, were more or less friendly. The Scottish king had still a hankering after the lost counties, and although war on their behalf was threatened, it was always averted. Diplomacy was brought into play, and at last, in 1209, the rival claims of the two monarchs were amicably, if not satisfactorily, settled.

The Scottish king's attention was once more drawn to the north; there the Earl of Caithness, Harald by name, who was half a Scot and half a Norwegian, imbued with all

the valour and fierceness of his race, attempted to assert his independence of the Scottish crown. It took three campaigns on the part of William to quell this revolt. At last he succeeded in capturing Harald, whom he imprisoned in the castle of Roxburgh until his submission was complete (1198).

One other revolt disturbed the aged monarch's reign. The leader of this rising was Guthred, son of Donald MacWilliam. He represented the house of Moray and also the anti-Norman feeling of the country. Betrayed by his own followers, he was put to death after the inhuman fashion of the age (1212).

William died at Stirling, after having completed the longest reign in the history of Scotland. He had reached the age of seventy-four, and was buried in the Abbey of Arbroath. The repeated risings of his subjects seem to show that he was a weak king, but his troubles can, for the most part, be accounted for by his extreme youth when he began to reign, by the unsettled state of the country, by the rivalries of races not yet thoroughly interfused, and by the temporary subjection of the kingdom to England. Towards the close of his reign national affairs were in a more satisfactory condition, and under the stronger hands of his two successors the consolidation of the country and the unification of the people were made practically complete.

William continued the munificence of his family to the Church, as may be seen by his building of the great Abbey of Arbroath, and by his insistence on the payment of tithes and dues, but he should be chiefly remembered by the favour which he bestowed upon burghs. It is in his reign that charters were first granted to Perth, Rutherglen, Inverness, and Ayr. We may thus note, if not the beginning, certainly the development of communal life in Scotland, and an indication of the rise of the burghal classes, who, along with the yeomen, were to play an ever-increasing part in the fortunes and destinies of the country. Their

time was not yet, as the rise of the barons into an aggressive power was to precede that of the common people, who, along with the king, had for years to defend the liberties of the country against the dominance of hereditary chiefs. The progress of constitutional government also marks William's reign; it is in his time that we read of the King's court, which was composed of prelates, earls, barons and free-tenants, exercising the right of imposing taxes. It was the members of this court, along with an 'infinite multitude of his subjects,' that refused to pay the tithe which Henry II. demanded of William as an aid to his equipment for the Crusade against Saladin, while a similar assembly subsequently met at Holyrood to levy a tax to meet the claim of Richard I. as a ransom for the independence of the kingdom. The great constitutional questions that formed so important a feature in the history of England had not, so far at least, made their appearance in Scotland; but there is sufficient evidence to show that the national life was beginning to progress on those lines which make for the growth of a free people. It is quite clear that the development thus begun would have continued and steadily grown, had it not been for the fatal calamities which gave rise to the War of Independence, and which at the same time practically undid the work of preceding reigns.

CHAPTER X

ALEXANDER II, 1214-1249

THE reigns of the two Alexanders, father and son, are still fondly looked back to as the golden age of Scottish history. It is held by competent judges that there was more real prosperity and comfort among the people at that time than at any period before the Union. The country, for one thing, had a long term of almost unbroken peace. Its internal troubles were not of a serious nature, and really helped in place of retarding its progress. The different races were amalgamating, and by the inter-marriages of Scots, Saxons and Normans, the evolution of the Scottish people was being accomplished, and Scottish character as we know it was being formed. Feudalism was dominant, and the Church, becoming stronger, worked hand in hand with the civil power in shaping the destinies of the nation. The one sign of danger was the growing strength of the aristocracy, who even then gave ample evidence of that selfishness, coupled with unscrupulousness and brutality, which was to prove at a later date a misfortune and disgrace to Scotland. England was weakly governed, and, in its divided and distracted condition, the northern kingdom found the opportunity for its own pacific development.

Alexander II. succeeded his father at the age of seventeen. No time was lost in securing his succession to the throne, for he was crowned at Scone the day after his father's death. It was impossible, of course, that he should be allowed to begin his reign in peace. The house of Moray could not permit this to happen. Accordingly Donald Bane, or MacWilliam, a son of the last pretender of the same name,

disputed the succession, but his rising was speedily crushed by the Earl of Ross. With peace thus secured in his own country, Alexander turned his attention to England, where King John was in the midst of his struggle with his barons over the Great Charter. These barons, wishing to strengthen their hands in the contest, invited Alexander to be their ally, bribing him at the same time with an offer of the three northern counties. Alexander agreed, but nothing definite resulted. John's death involved the Scottish king in serious difficulties, for the English barons gave their submission to the new king, Henry III., who was also strongly supported by the Pope, and Alexander, in league with Louis of France, still insisting upon the enterprise to which he had been invited, was excommunicated with all his subjects. There was nothing for him but to come to terms, both with the Pope and with Henry, which he did at Berwick (1217). By the agreement then arrived at he relinquished all claims to the three northern counties, doing homage to the English king for his earldom of Huntingdon and his other English fiefs. He received the Papal absolution, a privilege in which his people also participated, after an embassy had been sent to Rome. The good understanding with England was further established by his marriage with Joanna, Henry's sister, and by the marriage of Alexander's sister, Margaret, to Hubert de Burgh, a powerful English noble (1221).

The Scottish king was now free to devote himself to a more worthy project; he determined on bringing Argyll into complete subjection to the Scottish crown. It was from this district, under its old name of Dalriada, that the Scots had made incursions into the other parts of Scotland to which they gave both king and religion. But in subsequent years, owing to Norse invasions and the growing independence of its native chiefs, it had got out of hand, and had on more than one occasion aided in attacks upon the central government. Alexander, accordingly, determined on its final reduction. His first expedition, in 1221, which

seems to have been chiefly naval, having failed owing to a violent storm, he, the following year, collected an army, chiefly from Lothian and Galloway, and marching into the country reduced it. The native chiefs who proved loyal were allowed to retain their lands, but the place of the others was taken by the king's own followers. By this means Argyll, like most of the other parts of the country, received an infusion of Norman and Saxon blood, which, along with the original Scots and Norse elements, brought in due time the inhabitants into line with the rest of the Scottish people.

A stirring incident, with a tragic and even brutal result, which took place in the very year of Alexander's conquest of Argyll, throws a strong light on certain aspects of the national life. The Bishop of Caithness, Adam by name, who by his excessive exactions had made himself objectionable to his people, was one Sunday captured by three hundred of them, and forcibly dragged to his own kitchen, where he was roasted alive. It says something for the growing civilisation of Scotland that this atrocious deed evoked the more humane sentiments in both State and Church. The king hastened north to punish the criminals, and the Church, though it took longer, did not rest until it also had avenged the wrong.

The two districts of the country that had now for many years been a cause of trouble to the central government, once more figured as disturbers of the peace. The MacWilliams in Moray headed two revolts against Alexander, but they were speedily put down; and the men of Galloway being now (1234) without a natural leader, as Alan their lord had died, only leaving three daughters who were married to Norman knights, made his illegitimate son their chief, and breaking into the neighbouring territories, ravaged and massacred at will. It is true that they offered the lordship of their district to the king himself. Any one they thought would be better than a Norman; but Alexander having refused the offer, they broke into revolt.

This rising was also put down, but not so easily as the other, and the king was indebted to the Earl of Ross and his Highlanders, who were accustomed to mountain warfare, for the success that finally crowned his arms. Thomas, Alan's son, was imprisoned, and his wild Irish followers were captured, taken to Edinburgh, and torn to pieces by horses. In face of this brutality, it is interesting to note that Devorgoil, one of the two surviving daughters of Alan, between whom Galloway was divided, built to the memory of her husband, John Baliol, the beautiful Abbey of Sweetheart near Dumfries, the last to be founded in Scotland. She herself was cousin to the king, being the granddaughter of his uncle David. Her younger sister married Robert Bruce of Annandale, and from these two marriages sprang the future rival claimants for the Scottish crown.

Some two years after this rising, Alexander had to settle a dispute of the old kind with England. Henry revived his claim to the northern kingdom, which he based on the treaty of Falaise. Alexander repudiated the claim, and renewed his own on the northern English counties. War between the two countries seemed imminent. The English barons, however, many of whom possessed land in both kingdoms, intervened, and (1237) a compromise was arrived at at York, which held good till the War of Independence. Alexander received a grant of lands in Northumberland and Cumberland on his agreeing to give up all claims to the southern English fiefs.

In 1242 one of those incidents occurred which, though trifling in themselves, not infrequently give rise to a great conflagration. It was the age of tournaments, and at one held near Haddington two Scottish lords, the Earl of Atholl and Walter Bisset of the family of Mar, entered the lists. Bisset was unhorsed, and the following night the house in which Atholl lodged was burned to the ground, and he and two of his followers perished in the flames. At this early stage in the national history we see the beginnings of those feuds between rival houses, which in after years

were to prove a menace to the crown and a scourge to the country. Friends of Atholl loudly called upon the king to punish Bisset, whom they blamed for the outrage. Alexander against his better judgment banished Bisset and declared his lands forfeit. Bisset escaped to England and complained to Henry, alleging that Alexander was unable to protect his own subjects. The English king, whose jealousy had been aroused by the union made between France and Scotland by Alexander's marriage with the daughter of a great French baron, determined to invade Scotland. Two great armies, each it is alleged a hundred thousand strong, marched towards the Borders and each other, but the English barons again intervened. In addition to their own interest in both countries, which caused them to look unfavourably upon the threatened conflict, their attachment to Henry was somewhat lukewarm, while Alexander was popular. Once more an agreement was reached, and again at York, by which self-defence was to be the only excuse for attack by either monarch.

Alexander, having subjugated Argyll, was now bent upon bringing the Sudreys under his control, and for this purpose made overtures to Haco of Norway. He claimed them as his rightful possession. Having failed to convince Haco, he offered to buy them. The Norwegian king replied that he did not need money. To Alexander only one course was now open, so he sailed with a fleet (1249) bent on their conquest, but he only got as far as Oban Bay when death overtook him. He died in the island of Kerrera, and was buried, at his own desire, in Melrose Abbey.

The country during Alexander's reign made progress in agriculture, which had now become the chief national industry. The enactments which he made indicate that although the time was still far distant when Scotsmen would beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks, the tillage of the land was rising in favour. Every man who had four cows was compelled to be a farmer,

and to cultivate his land for the support of his household and his cattle, and if the land was unsuitable for tillage by oxen, it had to be delved with a spade. In this reign also the Church began to play no mean part. Its growing strength and widespread organisation aided the king in his efforts at consolidating the country. Its independence of the English Church was confirmed by Pope Honorius III. (1218), and its right to hold Synodal Councils was admitted in 1225. It was in this reign that the great preaching friars of the Middle Ages found their way to Scotland, and two of their orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, particularly the former, probably because of their more ascetic life, found encouragement at the hands of Alexander. By the time of George Buchanan they had fallen from the high ideal which first animated them, but in Alexander's time they were of the greatest value in spreading the salient truths of Christianity.

CHAPTER XI

ALEXANDER III, 1249-1286

ALEXANDER'S successor was a child of eight years. He was his son by his second wife, Mary de Coucy, and as Alexander III. he began a reign which was to last for thirty-seven years (1249-1286). A state of matters now appeared in Scotland which was unfortunately to be repeated time and again in the national history. Two parties sprang up, each fighting for supremacy, the occasion for their rivalry being the minority of the king. It is at this stage also that we have the first signs of that selfishness on the part of a section of the nobility which prompted them to sacrifice the country for their own interests. So long as they could preserve their lands, or acquire more, it did not concern them much whether the independence of the nation was conserved or not. They always looked to England for support, and were quite willing to play the English king's game. The second party, while also consisting, like the other, of Celtic and Norman nobles, became, as time went on, that of the common people, and it was they who in the end proved the true patriots, and who fought for hearth and home rather than for land and power. This party was in its infancy, but it became strong enough to afford sufficient backing to Wallace and to Bruce during the War of Independence, and to give that aid to John Knox and the Scottish Reformers which enabled them to free the country, not so much from the danger of English usurpation, as from the dominance of the Scottish nobles themselves. We now see glimmerings, however faint, of the growth of burghal power, and of the formation of that national life among the common people

which was to prove at once the source of their freedom, and of the intellectual, political, social, and industrial progress and greatness of the country. The day of Scoto-Norman knights and barons had not by any means come to an end; feudalism was still in the ascendant, but when the consolidation of the country was complete, a new order sprang up which ousted the aristocracy from their position, and placed the reins of government and the development of the national life in the hands of the democracy.

The two parties found an occasion for testing their strength at the coronation of the king, which took place immediately after Alexander II.'s death. Alan Durward, the Justiciar or Chief-Justice, headed the one; the other was composed of the Comyns, at whose head was the Earl of Menteith; each party was supported by one or other of the chiefs of the Scottish nobility. Durward looked for support to the English king, while Menteith strove for the independence of Scotland. Durward called for delay, on the ground that the young king had not been knighted. Menteith brushed his arguments aside by quoting precedents, and won the day. The function itself was the most imposing and gorgeous of the kind that had ever taken place in Scotland. A large assemblage, representing the leading nobility and the highest dignitaries in the Church, met in Scone Abbey, and there the youthful monarch was crowned as he sat on the Stone of Destiny. Alas! after his death it was taken possession of by Edward I., who carried it to England. To-day in its place in Westminster Abbey it forms a part of the chair on which British monarchs sit during the ceremony of their coronation. To show the mixed character of those who were present on the occasion, the solemn oaths taken by the sovereign were repeated first in Latin and then in Norman-French, and the ancient language of the Scots found expression by the mouth of an old Highlander, who recited in his mother-tongue—Gaelic—the roll of the royal ancestors back to the

first king of Scots, who ruled in Alban. There was something pathetic in this recital, for Alexander was the last Celtic king who was to rule in Scotland.

For the next twelve years, until the king attained his majority, the country was kept in constant turmoil by the rivalries of the two parties that fought for power. Their relative position corresponded very much to that of the great political parties who in our own day bid for the government of the country. Their plan of gaining their end took the form of kidnapping the king, a way of achieving political success that was to be repeatedly illustrated in the subsequent history of Scotland. Menteith's party was first in the ascendant, and while the English king was anxious to take advantage of the disturbed state of Scotland, the weakness of his own character and rule was a constant hindrance to his schemes. He appealed to the Pope to have his supremacy over Scotland recognised, and an emphatic refusal was the reply. He thought, however, that the opportunity had arrived for a recognition of his claims in the marriage of the young king to his own daughter Margaret. This took place at York in 1251. The sumptuousness of the entertainment would seem to have deeply impressed the guests, for they record that the Archbishop of York, who acted as host on the occasion, served six hundred bullocks for the first course. As a pageant the ceremony also made a deep impression ; all that was gay and gallant and beautiful in both countries assembled at the marriage, and not the least brilliant, in herself and in her retinue, was the young king's mother, who crossed from France to grace the occasion. But Henry had his eye on a more serious and important object, for he asked the young king, after he had done homage for his fiefs in England, to do the same for his kingdom of Scotland, but Alexander, whose advisers had anticipated such a demand, replied, that he had come on another errand, and that on the point now raised he must first consult his Council.

Menteith's party continued in power for the next four years, but Durward's return to the country gave a new turn to events, for, along with his supporters, among whom we find Robert de Brus, he seized the king and queen in Edinburgh castle, and, with them in their power, the triumph of the English party was for the time being complete. Henry hastened north, and meeting Durward and his friends at Kelso, established as far as he could his supremacy in Scotland, appointing himself 'Principal Councillor to the illustrious King of Scotland.' Reprisals, however, were soon to follow; the national party, as it may be termed, now supported by Gamelyn, the Bishop-elect of St Andrews, called in the power of the Church, and at Cambuskenneth Abbey (1257) the Bishop of Dunblane and the Abbots of Jedburgh and Melrose excommunicated the councillors of the king. Menteith, maintaining that excommunicated persons were unfit to act as the advisers of the monarch, surprised the king's guardians at Kinross, and carried the young monarch, whom they seized in his sleep, to Stirling castle. Durward fled to England, and the balance of power remained undisturbed until the king attained his majority. It is true that Henry made two other attempts to strengthen his hold over Scotland, the first in 1259, and the second after Menteith's death; but they both failed, and so suspicious were the Scots of his intentions that they steadily refused to permit Alexander, on Henry's pressing invitation, to visit England, even though he declared that it was on important business. The invitation, however, was at last accepted (1261) on the distinct understanding that no 'important business' of a State nature was to be discussed. The visit was long remembered for the splendour of the court functions that attended it. Alexander had to return home, but he left his young queen behind him, and she, in the February of the following year, gave birth to the Princess Margaret, who subsequently married Eric, the Norwegian king, and so became the mother of the Maid of Norway.

The year that witnessed the birth of Alexander's daughter was also memorable for his efforts to recover the Western Isles to the Scottish crown. In 1262 he sent an embassy to King Haco, with the object of treating for their transference from Norwegian to Scottish rule. Haco had at the time heard of the incursions of the Earl of Ross and others into these Islands, and of the cruel treatment which, after the custom of the times, was meted out to their poor victims. So incensed was he, that it was only after the good offices of Henry that he permitted the Scottish embassy to return home. He determined to head a great naval expedition for the punishment of the marauders, and with a view also to bringing the Scottish king to terms. The Hebrides, or Sudreys as they were then called, which skirt the western coast of Scotland from the north down to Kintyre, were never, with the exception of the southern portion, real parts of the Scottish kingdom. Their inhabitants were a mixed race, with a strong infusion of the Norse element, and it would seem that at this time they were well populated by thriving communities that had made considerable progress in industry and art. Their government was in the hands of different powerful chiefs, who owned the lordship either of the king of Norway or the king of Scotland as the case might be. Haco's invasion put many of them into a quandary, for he forced them to recognise his sovereignty, and this placed them, should his expedition fail, in what might be the merciless power of the Scottish king.

Haco set sail, in July of 1263, with a large fleet well manned and equipped, and after a prosperous and successful voyage—receiving the submission of most of the Islanders as he sailed south, and an important accession to his strength in Magnus, King of Man—he rounded the Mull of Kintyre, and towards autumn sailed up the Firth of Clyde with a fleet numbering 160 sail, and anchored off the island of Arran. From thence he made several expeditions, one of which reached as far as the head of Loch Long, and, certain

of his ships having been taken across from Arrochar to Tarbet, they sailed down Loch Lomond, devastating and harrying as they passed. The Scottish king was evidently unprepared for this formidable invasion, and partly to gain time, and partly if possible to buy off King Haco, he entered into negotiations with him ; but the old viking would listen to no overtures. He demanded all the Western Islands, including Bute and Arran, otherwise the rights of both monarchs, he declared, would have to be settled by the arbitrament of war.

Alexander's policy was favoured by the forces of nature. A great storm from the south-west broke on the western coast on the first of October, and the Norwegian fleet, having run to the Cumbraes for shelter, dragged their anchors, and a number of the vessels were driven ashore. By this time a Scottish force had gathered on the heights that overlook the village of Largs, into the bay of which many of Haco's ships were drifting. The Scotsmen did not fail to seize their opportunity, and attacking the Norsemen, drove them into their vessels. Haco's efforts to support his disabled ships were frustrated by the continuance of the storm, which increased in fury, and compelled him with what vessels remained to retrace his course northward. The old king, broken in heart and in spirit, at last reached Kirkwall, but the hand of death was upon him. He conformed to all the offices of the Church, and had, while he lay in bed, the lives of the Saints read to him. But the spirit of his fathers called for something more stirring, and he commanded the Chronicles of his ancestors, the Pirate Kings, to be recited, and, with the sound of their mighty deeds ever more faintly ringing in his ears, he passed away at midnight on the 15th December 1263.

Alexander made no delay in following up his advantage. He dispatched Alan Durward, the High Constable, to subdue the Western Isles. The king of Man yielded, and shortly afterwards the king of Norway ceded the Hebrides to Scotland on a payment of four thousand marks and an

annual subsidy of one hundred marks. An exception, however, was made in the case of Shetland and Orkney, which still remained attached to Norway.

From a very early period, as we have seen, the Scottish Church had to safeguard its independence, and towards the latter part of Alexander's reign certain demands were made by, or through, the papacy which called for the interference of the king. The loyalty of Alexander to the Church was not found wanting. In 1267 Cardinal-Legate Ottobone dei Fieschi, who had visited England for the purpose of making peace between Henry and his barons, proposed to tax the Scottish Church for the payment of his expenses, but both king and clergy combined in giving an emphatic refusal. Ottobone thereupon summoned the whole bench of Scottish bishops with two abbots or two priors, to meet him wherever he might appoint. Only two bishops and one abbot were sent, and they were present for the purpose of guarding the interests of the Scottish Church. The Cardinal-Legate then proposed that the tenths of Scotland should go to aid the English king in his great Crusade; the reply was that Scotland was sending a Crusade of its own, and it is interesting to note that one of those who supported it was the Earl of Carrick, whose widow married Robert the Bruce, the father of the great Scottish king. The Pope, however, was more successful in his next demand; he sent Baiamund de Vicci, whose name became better known in Scotland under the corrupted form of 'Bagimont' (1275), to collect a tax for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre. The Scots, while submitting so far, maintained that the tax should be levied, not on the true value of goods and benefices, as was proposed, but on the ancient valuation. This was refused; but their other contention was granted, that the tax should be paid direct to the Pope himself. Thus was established the notorious Bagimont's Roll, which formed down to the Reformation the basis of taxation on the property of the Church.

Alexander now ruled over a larger and more united

kingdom than any of his predecessors, and as he was in the very prime of manhood, a long and successful reign might have been anticipated for him. He had, however, only other ten years of life, but these were years of peace and of national prosperity. But the troubles that were to follow his reign began even then to lift up their head, for a new king was on the English throne, a man of a very different stamp from his predecessor. Edward I. was of Alexander's own age, he was a great soldier and statesman, a man of iron will and unflinching resolution. He would seem from the very first moment of his reign to have entertained a scheme for the conquest, or at all events the absorption, of Scotland. When, for instance, Alexander visited England in 1278 to take the oath of homage before the English Parliament to King Edward, it is recorded that on the Scottish monarch declaring that he was liege man to the English king for the lands which he held in England, 'saving only his own kingdom,' the Bishop of Norwich intervened with the remark, 'and saving to the king of England if he right have, your homage for your kingdom.' To whom the king immediately replied : 'To homage for my kingdom of Scotland no one has any right but God alone, nor do I hold it of any but of God.' With this Edward had to be satisfied, but he was evidently preparing the way for future action, for as both the Scottish king and many of his nobles held lands in England, he began to press his feudal rights over them, and to demand their services against the Welsh.

Calamity after calamity now fell on the Scottish king. He lost his wife in 1275, and five years later his younger son died. Three years afterwards, in quick succession there also died Prince Alexander, the heir to the throne, who was married to Margaret of Flanders, and his daughter, who was married to Eric of Norway, and who left a child, Margaret. Thus with his wife and children all dead, and the heir to the throne a girl and an infant, Alexander naturally dreaded the future, and to make the

kingdom safe for his house he summoned a great Council, at which there were present thirteen earls, eleven bishops and twenty-five lords, all of whom accepted the Maid of Norway as heiress to Scotland, the Hebrides, Man, Tyndale and Penrith, for such was the full extent of the kingdom. Alexander, who was still only in his forty-fourth year, married again (1285), his wife being Joleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. But the ceremony, in place of adding to the gaiety of the event, cast a gloom over it. As was customary in those days, a pageant was held at the marriage-feast, which took place in Jedburgh Abbey, and of all possible masques, the one selected was the Dance of Death, in which Death in the form of a skeleton stalks before the spectators. The incident gave rise to dark forebodings, which were intensified by a great storm of thunder and lightning that occurred in December, and other natural portents which 'herald in the death of kings.' The sad and tragic event to which such prodigies pointed was not long delayed. On the 19th March, the following year (1286), Alexander attended a meeting of his Council in Edinburgh. The business being over, a sumptuous feast was partaken of, while outside the tempest raged. The queen was in Kinghorn in Fife, and Alexander was determined to return to her that same night. When he reached Queensferry the ferryman endeavoured to stop him and his attendants, but in vain; he crossed and reached Inverkeithing, where the master of the royal salt-works begged him to stay his journey, but on he would go, though the night was so dark that the guides could distinguish themselves only by their voices. At last they were compelled to trust to the instincts of their horses, but when they were almost within reach of their destination the king's horse stumbled and fell over the cliff, and its rider was picked up dead.

CHAPTER XII

MEDIÆVAL SCOTLAND

THE dynasty of Malcolm Canmore, which ended with the death of Alexander III., is equal in importance to any period of similar length in the history of Scotland. During it we find those conflicts between Celt and Saxon, and Celt and Norman, which at last resulted in the interfusion of the different races and in the birth of a united and consolidated Scotland. But other movements of a deeper and not less important nature took place which now demand our attention. When Malcolm mounted the throne he found not only a divided kingdom, but a civilisation which was mainly Celtic. The form of government which prevailed under this system, the tribal arrangements which conditioned the possession of property and the administration of justice, the social and religious habits of the people, with other elements that enter into the life of a nation, were discussed in a previous chapter; but at the close of the reign of Alexander III. we find the Scottish people living under a new political and social order, and the question at once presents itself: What was the origin and nature of this order?

Scotland could not stand aloof from the rest of Europe. The influences that were at work in the different countries with which it came into contact began to affect it. In particular, its relations to England were bound to make themselves felt, and the fact that some of its own kings had spent a considerable portion of their early life in the sister country could not fail to give an impulse to the policy which they put in force when they ascended the Scottish throne. Besides, the growing life of the Scottish people

demanded fresh channels for its expression. New conditions began to prevail, and the old civilisation was found to be outworn.

The system which was set up in Scotland during the period under review was feudalism. It originated in France and travelled eastwards towards Germany, was transplanted into England by the Normans, and soon found a home in Scotland as well. It was during the reign of David that it established itself, and it prevailed from then onward to the Reformation; indeed certain of its features survive to the present day. The elements of feudalism were a twofold hold on the land; that of the lord and that of the vassal, which was supplemented by a twofold engagement, that of the lord to defend and that of the vassal to be faithful. The king gave a gift of land to a kinsman or a servant, and the recipient put himself under the personal care of a lord, and so became his vassal and did homage. Feudalism, according to the Bishop of Chester, may be described as 'a complete organisation of society through the medium of land tenure, in which, from the king down to the lowest landowner, all are bound together by obligation of service and defence: the lord to protect his vassal; the vassal to do service to his lord; the defence and service being regulated by the nature and extent of land held by the one off the other. . . . The lord judges as well as defends his vassal; the vassal does suit as well as service to his lord.'

At first sight it may appear that between this system and the one with which we are familiar in Scotland before the reign of Malcolm Canmore there is not much difference. This in a sense may be true, but several important factors are found in the new system which did not exist in the old. The land was vested in the king; it was he who granted different portions of the country to various members of the nobility. Above all things, such gifts were granted by charters, and upon them the future tenure of land in Scotland was to rest. A prejudice, it is said, existed in certain

parts of the Highlands until a comparatively recent period, against this method of recognising rights in property. Such a prejudice was a survival of the old civilisation. The king under the new system established his authority, and made every holder of the land dependent on the crown. But the king's vassals in turn had their own sub-vassals. The sub-vassals were more dependent on their superiors than these were upon the king. The nobles were thus able frequently to defy the crown, and one of the great problems of the feudal period was how to strengthen the central authority so as to enable it to keep rebellious barons in subjection. In a period subsequent to the one with which we are dealing, king and people will be found in league against the nobility. The feudal system, it will be seen, had its weakness also. It, however, served its day, and helped Scotland to advance one stage more in its national development.

The Norman nobles with their retainers, whom the Scottish kings encouraged to cross the Border from England, were provided for in the way now indicated. They benefited by the feudal system which they carried with them, and which David was especially eager to introduce into his own country. Men of Saxon and Danish extraction also shared at one time or another in similar benefactions, but the Normans' debt to the order that now began to prevail was much greater than that of any other.

A remarkable feature of the revolution which now took place was its comparatively slight displacement of the older occupants of the land. In any case, the evidence in support of what one would expect to have been a violent reform is very small indeed. There was nothing approaching to extermination, and very little blood was shed. Several reasons account for this peaceful settlement; the power of the king had vastly increased, and even though there had been an inclination to dispute his authority, the ability to resist it was lacking. Besides, all over the country there were vast tracts of waste land. It may not have been

unclaimed, but most probably it was unoccupied. There would accordingly be very little difficulty in settling the new holders in their possessions. The Normans who were thus favoured were always accompanied by a number of retainers, and being skilled in warfare they could, if necessary, hold their own against any hostile attack. But they would seem to have had no desire to deal harshly with the natives. Wherever they got a grant of land they settled down as lords of the manor, and the Celtic nobles, gentry and men of lesser degree were left undisturbed. What took place in those days was probably not unlike what is happening in our own time. We see the estates of the old Scottish nobility and gentry passing yearly into the hands of strangers. Wealthy merchants from across the Border, great railway kings from America, and diamond magnates from South Africa are seen stepping in every year in increasing numbers and dispossessing by purchase the ancient owners of the land. This does not result in the emigration of the natives or in the dislocation of the political and social life of the people; all goes on as if nothing had happened. Something of the same kind took place during what is occasionally called the 'Norman invasion' of Scotland. It was no more an invasion than is the modern migration of English or American plutocrats into North Britain. The important fact to note is that the political system with which the Normans are identified synchronised with their advent, and this had a more radical effect on the future of the country than the mere settlement of the Anglo-Norman adventurers whom the Scottish kings encouraged to come north for the purpose chiefly of assisting them to establish the new policy which they had at heart.

It is not surprising to learn that it was in the Lothians that the greatest number of these new settlers found a home. It was there that most of the crown lands were to be found, and the king would experience no difficulty in freely bestowing charters. Again, north of the Forth,

especially in the east and towards Moray, where the MacHeths and the MacWilliams had been dispossessed owing to their rebellions, large tracts of land were at the disposal of the king, and these he granted to his Anglo-Norman followers. It was different in Galloway, for the Celts in that turbulent region had never been conquered, and any new occupier of the land had to fight for his possession, and to hold it with the strong arm. In Argyll again, where grants of land of the kind now indicated would seem to have been fewer in number, we find the Celtic lords and population practically undisturbed.

One of the first things that the Norman did after receiving a charter for a new possession was to build a castle on it, which was to be both a house and a fort. The ruins of many of these castles are to be found all over Scotland, and the massiveness of their walls testifies to their great strength. Within its safe enclosure he could defy any ordinary attack, and from it he could sally forth on his warlike expeditions. Near the castle there sprang up the *ville*, or what afterwards became known as the village. It was inhabited by the retainers of the baron. The site was chosen partly from the security which the castle gave to it in times of danger, and partly because of the readiness with which they could render service to their lord. They were within easy call, and, as his vassals, they gave him their service for his protection. They usually received a piece of land, and they and the land passed over to any new purchaser. It is difficult to define exactly the position which this class, *nativi* or *vilains* as they were called, occupied. In theory they were unfree, but in practice they were largely free. Next to the lord, as occupiers of the land, came the freeholders, or gentry, who did not hold their land by charter, but whose desire to do so was not unfrequently realised. Between them and the *nativi* came tenants, to whom freeholders sublet their land. They are supposed to have corresponded somewhat to the Highland Tacksmen of later times. Then there was another class,

tenants who held their land from year to year, and although the modern farmer would not accept the precarious tenure of their holding, they were in all essentials his predecessors.

A large portion of the best land in the country became very soon the property of the Church, but as the owners could not cultivate it all themselves, they let it out in small holdings to a cottar class, and in larger holdings to a kind of bonnet-laird class. They kept the greatest holdings of all in their own hands and, as church vassals, they ranked in power and influence almost equal to the nobility. Payment under the feudal system was by service and in kind, and retainers were rewarded for their labours by protection. This in the course of years gave way to payment by wages, and the system gradually died out through its own development. Under it, however, a body of peasantry gradually sprang up, who were to render valuable service in defence of their country during the War of Independence, which was fast approaching.

The age of chivalry had now dawned, and Scotland participated, like the rest of Europe, in those jousts and tournaments which formed the chief amusement, and sometimes the chief work also of the Norman knight. North Britain never, perhaps, gave itself up so whole-heartedly to the mode of life which Scott has immortalised in his romance of *Ivanhoe*, as did England. But for several centuries this side of the feudal system prevailed also in Scotland, and played its part in introducing and developing those traits and graces of character with which it is associated. The baron under the feudal system was at the call of the king to sally forth and join him in any warlike expedition that he might at the time have in hand. War indeed was the serious occupation of the age. A glance at the strong fortress, castle, or keep in which the Norman knight or baron lived shows this. It was built for defence, and not trusting even to its great walls, he dug round it a ditch or foss, with a drawbridge, which was only lowered to afford passage to the inmates or to friends. In addition to his family, there

was not infrequently a large body of servants and retainers, who lived in the castle or in the hamlet that had sprung up around it. They were at his call whenever he required them, either in the king's service or his own, for he was often at strife with his neighbours, and two or more barons made war upon each other and fought out their quarrels on many a bloody field, as if there had been no king or justice in the land.

They were not, however, always at war ; many days of dull inactivity lay on their hands, and they had to be disposed of somehow. Accordingly, then as now, the pastimes of the idle rich were numerous and varied. Each age conditions and favours its own amusements, and in those days hunting and hawking filled up the hours of leisure. Hunting, during this period, was of a somewhat exciting nature, and a spice of danger was attached to it which no doubt added to its charm. Great tracts of land were practically untrodden, and in them wild boars and wolves found shelter and a home. Books of romance describe in picturesque language the glories of the chase, and the adventurous spirits who in our own time have to journey to Central Africa in order to experience the sensation of hunting under danger must envy the good time which the Norman baron enjoyed. In the gentler pastime of hawking the ladies could participate, and it was while thus employed that the Countess of Carrick met the father of Robert the Bruce and made of him her quarry.

The great amusement of the age for the nobility of Scotland was the tournament. Arrangements had to be made long in advance ; the occasion was advertised far and near, and all that was brave and gay in the land gathered to the neighbourhood ; the lists were prepared, challenges issued, combatants matched, and the fight, which was meant to test the courage and skill of the knight, often developed into a serious struggle in which one or more were slain. There can be no doubt but that these and other pastimes of the age had their effect in shaping the character of the

Scottish people. They called forth qualities which have ever been admired, and which have always been associated with the noblest manhood. Courage, skill, and promptitude of action may not be among the highest virtues, but when coupled with strength and agility of body and soundness of mind, they count for a good deal in achieving success for a people against its rivals. That the Middle Ages were not deficient in these qualities, but rather excelled in them, is undoubted, and to this fact Western Europe owes not a little of its superiority over many other parts of the world. The gentle breeding, too, which knighthood taught and practised, the education of boys and youths in grace of manner, purity of conduct, and courtesy to woman, helped to create and foster those qualities of refinement and breeding which a commercial and industrial age is only too apt to ignore. The tenants and retainers of the baron shared to a certain extent in his pastime. The retainers especially would accompany him to the chase and to the tournament, and would no doubt participate in the excitement and danger of the hour. They had also their own amusement of a simpler, cheaper and ruder kind. Their hours of service would vary, but neither they nor their labours were excessive. They sat in the great hall at the same table as their lord, occupying the lowest place, as became their menial position.

The administration of justice is seen gradually developing into the form with which in subsequent centuries we are familiar. The baron, to begin with, had the power of pit and gallows. In the former women were ducked or drowned, and on the latter men were hanged. At some distance, on rising ground, there was the 'moot'-hill, on which a rude court of justice was held. The forms of trial by which an accused person was judged to be guilty or innocent were various. There was, for example, trial by *compurgation*. By this method a man charged with any crime was invited to bring forward a number of respectable witnesses to testify to his good character and innocence.

If he failed, he was found guilty. It can be easily seen how hard this method would press upon the poor and friendless. Another way was trial by *ordeal*; the accused, if he failed by the first method, might, blindfolded, walk among red hot ploughshares or plunge his hand into boiling water. If he escaped uninjured, or if after a reasonable time he recovered from his burns, he was declared to be innocent. The Church soon looked with disfavour upon so barbarous and superstitious a custom, which accordingly began to fall into disuse. Then there was trial by *combat*. A man might challenge his accuser and fight out his quarrel with the sword. If he proved victor he was believed to be innocent. A noble was not under the necessity of having his case decided by fighting with an inferior; he had the option of choosing a deputy. Here again the method pressed hard upon the poor.

But even so early as the reign of David such modes of trial are found giving place to purer and more satisfactory means of discovering the guilt or innocence of an accused person. The king was being more and more recognised as the central authority, and the framing of laws and the administration of justice were being regarded as belonging particularly to him. Accordingly we find the monarch journeying to different parts of the country for the purpose of righting wrongs and settling disputes. Thereafter the practice grew up of selecting 'good men,' the forerunners of our own juries, for the purpose of hearing causes and pronouncing a righteous judgment. The power of the barons was thus limited, and the rights of the poor were conserved. During this period the Sheriff came into existence. He was a royal official, whose chief duty was to call in the revenues of the Shire or Sherifdom over which he presided, but he also held a court at fixed periods and settled disputes. Above him, but still under the king, a new and important officer came into existence. This was the Justiciar, who was appointed to one of the old divisions of the country. He

held his court three times a year in the chief burgh of the district, and dealt with such serious crimes as murder and robbery. In certain places there was provided what was styled Sanctuary, where the accused could take refuge until such time as he received a fair trial or made adequate reparation to those whom he had wronged.

The most important feature of the period under review was the rise and development of burghs. Small towns or villages must of course have existed from very early times, but it is under David that we see them growing and acquiring those rights and privileges which enabled them to play a decisive part in the future history of the country. They came into being as a necessary result of advancing civilisation; for barter and commerce accompany the development of a people. As the desire for comfort increased, there would be a consequent demand for those articles which minister to man's wants. An additional reason for the fostering care bestowed upon them by successive kings may be found in the fact that they would be a set-off against the power of the barons. In their burgesses and freemen we see the beginnings of the third estate, which in after years was to become the most powerful in the commonwealth. Within recent years the records of the ancient burghs have been examined with much care, for it is seen that upon them chiefly depends our knowledge of the social life of the people during the period which marks their rise. Every year fresh light is being thrown by means of these records on early Scottish history, and when this work is finally accomplished a period that is even yet somewhat obscure will be better understood, and a link that has hitherto been wanting to make the narrative complete will have been supplied.

Reference has already been made to the Association of the four burghs, Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling, which in due time gave rise to the Convention of Royal Burghs that exists to the present day. In this Association we see the importance of free towns. Even

previous to the time when this combination was formed, one something similar to it existed in the north, beyond the Mounth, that chain of mountains which extends from Aberdeenshire across the country to the west coast. Such associations or combinations, formed at first merely in the interests of trade, helped very considerably towards the advance of the people in other directions, and gradually paved the way for those developments with which we are now familiar. One of the rights which these burghs possessed was that of electing their own magistrates; although the provost was included in this privilege, he would seem to have held his office by hereditary right. In place of being a burghess, he was most frequently the head of a noble family in the immediate neighbourhood, under whose fostering care the burgh throve. It was not until the reign of William I. that charters were granted, but as time went on they became more numerous, and under them royal burghs secured many advantages which were scrupulously safeguarded. They possessed, for example, a monopoly of traffic, not only in the burgh itself, but within a certain prescribed area, and they were favoured also with the right of free exchange of goods. They could barter and sell under a law of protection which prevented any impost being placed upon their goods. Other towns also grew up under the patronage of a bishop or of a baron. The small village inhabited, in the first instance, by the retainers of a lord or ecclesiastical dignitary, whose castle afforded them protection, soon grew in size and sometimes attained to an importance not much inferior to a royal burgh itself. Such towns are found, as one might expect, in situations favourable to trade, near the banks of a river or within easy reach of the coast.

It is interesting in these days of municipal expansion to study the laws which the four burghs enacted on those occasions on which they met to deliberate on their interests. At stated periods they sent representatives to Haddington, and under the chairmanship of the Lord Chamberlain they

consulted and debated and laid the foundations of Scottish civic life. The Chamberlain also held a court in each royal burgh. This court was maintained in the interests of the king, and it inquired into any attempts that were made to defraud him. It also listened to any plea on the part of the burgesses themselves, who were commanded to be present, as to interference with their rights and privileges.

What conditioned a man's right to be a free burgess was his possession of property. A certain stake in the country was considered then to be a surety for a man's good faith and respectability. The unfree had no property and could not therefore be a burgess. But once he was able to purchase a holding in the burgh, and to keep possession of it for a year and a day, the rights and privileges of a freeman were bestowed upon him. The laws which governed burghal life were somewhat exacting. It was the duty of the magistrates to see that no dishonest dealings took place. Any attempt to act dishonestly was rigorously put down, and fines were imposed on tradesmen who failed to fulfil the requirements of their calling. There were no police in those days, but the burghers themselves had in turn to keep watch from night-fall to daybreak. The houses were made of wood, and conflagrations were not uncommon. The relations between the different trades were clearly defined and graded ; restrictions were placed upon manufactures, and exacting conditions were laid upon those who aspired to the magistracy. Courts were held every fortnight, and at stated periods meetings were convened to deliberate on the general interests of the burgh. One of the most important events was the annual fair ; it was under the patronage of some saint. Originally religious in character, it gradually became commercial. Booths were erected, traders displayed their goods, and those who had no right in ordinary circumstances to trade were allowed on that day to traffic in every variety of ware. These fairs became occasions for pleasure as well as for

business, and soon rose to be an important feature in the social life of the people.

It is possible from the materials that are in hand to give a picture of a Scottish town and its inhabitants in the remote past. The surrounding country gave little indication of the civic activity, if it may be so termed, which existed in the near neighbourhood. It was on the whole poorly cultivated and sparsely populated, and there were no highways to indicate proximity to a town or burgh. The first sign of municipal life was the appearance of a common on which cattle would be seen grazing. Beyond, there might be patches of land under cultivation, and adjacent to these the traveller would descry signs of habitation, and on drawing nearer he would find himself outside the burgh, guarded first by a ditch and then by a wooden paling or stockade. Entrance to the town was through gates which were guarded, and, inside, one main street, usually called the High Street, would be found, with pens and closes opening off it and leading to the houses of the inhabitants. On the whole, there was not anything very picturesque in an ancient Scottish burgh; the streets were unpaved, sanitation was unknown, and there must have been more to offend than to delight the senses. Pigs and dogs would be found roaming about the streets; even the churchyard was not free from intrusion; both it and the church were used for purposes which we do not associate with either. In the centre of the town was the cross, which also served various purposes. It indicated, to begin with, the fact that the inhabitants of the burgh were Christians, but it was not infrequently used by spinners for drying their yarn. Darkness fell upon the town at sunset, the streets were unlighted, and, as most of the houses were of wood, fires had to be put out to prevent conflagration. The burghers accordingly would be compelled to retire early to rest.

A distinction between the two chief classes in the burgh, the free and unfree, has already been indicated.

The former had many privileges ; but even among the freemen themselves there were social distinctions which cut deep into the civic life. A great gulf would seem to have separated the merchant from the tradesman. It was from the merchant class that the magistrates were chosen ; and their interests were further guarded by guilds, which protected them in every way possible. Even among the craftsmen there were social grades. Apprentices were put under very strict discipline, and they had to give proof of their ability before they received the degree of full apprentice or journeyman. A specimen of their handiwork had to be approved of before their training was held as completed. Each craft had its own quarters assigned to it, and this explains the names given to certain streets and localities, that exist even to the present day.

We also know something about the food of the people. The poor must have lived very sparsely, and sufficient proof of this is found in the number of lepers that existed ; every town of any size had its hospital for lepers. Lack of nourishment and sanitation accounts for this disease. Still, there must have been plenty of food for those who had the means to procure it. Oats would seem to have been the staple food of the lower classes ; they consumed it in the form of brose, porridge or bannocks. Ale too was freely partaken of ; it was brewed from malt made of oats. There would seem to have been plenty of breweries, and Scottish beer enjoyed high repute. The upper classes drank wine, and claret was a common beverage in Scotland until the nineteenth century. Wheat also was grown ; and from payments that were made in kind, we know that there was no lack of cheese, butter, poultry, mutton, beef and pork. Milk must have been abundant, and dwellers on the coast and on rivers would have a plentiful supply of fish. There is evidence to show that luxuries were imported from other countries. Rice, figs, raisins, almonds, pepper, alum and ginger are among the different articles of food that were consumed during the

Middle Ages in Scotland. The lower classes were clothed in homespun made from wool, and the wealthier and upper classes were dressed as became their station. While money was scarce, and life in many respects unhealthy among the poorest, chiefly from lack of proper nourishment and also from lack of cleanliness, it had its advantages. For one thing, holidays were much more numerous than now. In addition to the annual fair, and other breaks in the monotony of labour, there were fifty saints' days in the year, which were also observed as holidays. Life may have been rough, but it was not overburdened with excessive toil. Men's wants were few and cheaply supplied, and the frequent breaks in the craftsman's toil, with the amusements that were freely shared in by the burghers, made existence on the whole much easier than it is nowadays.

It was during this period that the ecclesiastical system of Rome became thoroughly established in Scotland. The Columban Church, as we have seen, was Abbatial rather than Episcopal, but with Alexander I. bishops were introduced; the old Scottish Church was gradually displaced, and by the time of Alexander III. it had entirely disappeared. It was David that completed the system. When he ascended the throne he found four bishops in Scotland; he soon added other five, and divided the country into separate dioceses, with a bishop at the head of each. One cannot view without a sigh of regret the abolition of the old order. It may have been necessary, however, for the discipline of the Christian life in Scotland, and for the furtherance of the union between the different elements in the nation, that the Roman system should for a time prevail. It was necessary to have a central authority in Church as in State, and the different districts of the country being under a head, the religious life of the people could be better served and ordered. More particularly must this have been the case when it is found that the dioceses themselves were broken up into parishes. The 'territorial system,' which has been the strength and glory of the

Scottish Church, arose in a very natural and simple manner. The lord of the manor, after he built his castle, erected a church, and he made the boundaries of his estate those of the parish. He endowed the church with the tithes of his property, and he held in his own hands the patronage of the living. One can easily see the advantages that would accrue to both the proprietor and the people from this system. The influence of the Church would be felt both in the manor and in the cottage; it would check the turbulence and lawlessness that then prevailed, and would have a softening and elevating effect upon the lives of all the parishioners.

An outstanding feature of the age was the reverence paid to sanctity. It was during this period that the Monastic system attained to its full strength. Kings, barons, and even the common people loaded with earthly riches the monasteries which shielded the men whose lives were devoted to piety. Malcolm Canmore founded a monastery at Dunfermline, others of his successors followed his example; but David was the greatest benefactor of the Church, so great that James I. characterised him as a 'sore saint to the crown.' He endowed the Abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood House, Kinloss, Cambuskenneth and Dryburgh, and founded a convent of Cistercian nuns at Berwick-on-Tweed. The monks who lived in these monasteries, to the number of thirty or fifty in each, were called *regulars*, as distinguished from the *secular* clergy, who served the parishes, and who went about, like clergymen in our own day, preaching and attending to the spiritual wants of the people. They were subject to the bishops. The monks again regarded the Abbot as their head, and, for a considerable time, they were the popular favourites. It was thought that as they were believed to devote their lives chiefly to praying and fasting, they were more pious than the secular clergy, who had to go in and out among the people, and to discharge many of the ordinary duties of life. The monasteries, accordingly, received the

largest gifts, and even the tithes of the parochial clergy were bestowed upon them, with the result that many of the parishes were impoverished and the monasteries rich to overflowing. Indeed, about the time of the Reformation, of the thousand parishes, the tithes of seven hundred had been appropriated by the monasteries. It is computed that in Scotland there were at one time about two hundred religious houses, twenty of them being convents.

There were different orders of monks, and each observed its own rules. There were in addition the Hospitallers or Knights of St John, who were so called from having built a church and hospital in Jerusalem for Christian pilgrims, and the Templars, so named from the order having originated in a compact to defend the temple of Jerusalem from the Saracens. They prospered too well, their wealth was their ruin, and in the end it was taken from them and given, in part at least, to the Knights of St John. The wealth of the Church was equal to that of half the country. Rich men and women freely lavished their gifts upon it, partly from genuine piety, but chiefly from a superstitious hope that their sacrifices would atone for their sins, and purchase for them immunity from eternal suffering. Well used at first, this great wealth in the end caused the ruin of the Church.

The ecclesiastical system thus set up benefited the country in other than purely religious ways. The monks were capable farmers. They introduced methods of agriculture hitherto unknown, and gave every encouragement to the tenants of the church lands, who, not being called upon to serve as soldiers in war, valued their holdings and became enterprising farmers. The monasteries, too, had large gardens, which were carefully cultivated, and there is no doubt that the example which the monks set in horticulture was followed by the barons and richer burghers. The clergy were the only learned men of the age, and many of the monks employed their leisure in study and in transcribing portions of Holy Writ, and books required in the service of the Church, or helpful to the culti-

vation of the devout life. The volumes thus produced are marvels of caligraphy and of artistic design. To the higher class of the clergy was assigned the chief business of the State, and the Lord Chancellor was usually selected from their ranks. To them also we owe the earliest annals of the country, and the foundation of our educational system. Schools were established in connection with most of the cathedral charges, and although their chief function was to educate and train young lads for the Church, others no doubt must have availed themselves of their advantages ; and so early as the thirteenth century schools are found in a number of the large towns. The monasteries, too, afforded shelter for the wayfarer and for the sick. There were hospitals in connection with them, and the only inns then in existence were found within their walls. The buildings in connection with the ancient church were so extensive and so numerous that for their erection and repair a large staff of skilled tradesmen had to be employed. Indeed, one has only to look at the ruins of some of the great cathedrals, abbeys, monasteries and churches, scattered over Scotland, to be convinced of the rare architectural ability and craftsmanship of those who built them. It would seem that bands of skilled artisans travelled from one country to another for the purpose of working at some great religious house that was then in the process of erection. No subsequent age has equalled the period under review, either in its generosity towards the Church, or in the noble use to which that was put. The architectural skill, design and workmanship seen in those splendid buildings would reflect glory on any age ; and the very fact of men's minds being devoted to such labour, apart altogether from its religious significance, must have had a civilising, purifying and ennobling effect upon the times and upon the country.

The king was assisted in the government of the nation by great officers of state. The Chancellor kept the Great Seal, and dealt with all official documents. The royal revenues passed through the hands of the Chamberlain,

who also received the rents due to the king from the royal burghs. The king's household was superintended by the Steward, and military matters were superintended by the Constable and Earl Marischal. These great offices were hereditary in certain families. The Keiths were the Hereditary Earl Marischals, and the Fitz-Alans the Hereditary High Stewards. There was no standing army, but the vassals of the king could be called upon at any moment, so could the bishops and abbots who were landowners. The burghs, too, had to do their share, and in cases of great need the whole body of freemen might under 'Scottish service' be brought into the field. They had to provide their own weapons and armour, but their time of legal service was short; it lasted for six weeks only.

The revenue of the country would seem to have been ample for the ordinary purposes of government. It was the king who was responsible for all national expenses. The crown lands were numerous and spread all over the country, and the rents were used by him for the management of national affairs. The royal burghs supplied him with considerable sums in the way of rents. The fines, too, levied in the royal courts, and the forfeited estates and property of criminals, belonged to him. When a baron's heir succeeded to his manor he paid a tax, and the king's wards were a source of considerable revenue. If an heiress married without the royal sanction she had to pay a heavy fine. When an emergency arose, the crown vassals were called upon to contribute 'aid' and to furnish the necessary supplies. The Scottish king was rich, at all events for the times, and for the purposes of government. The king did not come into conflict with his nobles or his people through having to make special demands. Accordingly, no great constitutional questions emerged. Events turned out differently in England. The needs of that country, both at home and abroad, made demands upon the Royal Exchequer which it could not

meet ; hence the conflict between the king and the nation which forced to the front those great questions which lie at the basis of the constitutional history of England. Nor was there at this time any Scottish parliament ; the germs of it may be found in the Great Council of Tenants in Chief, composed of two estates.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE—JOHN BALIOL, 1292-1296

It is now generally admitted that at the close of the reign of Alexander III. Scotland was in a more prosperous condition than it had ever been before, or than it was to be again for many a long day. It is perhaps somewhat difficult to believe this, but a glance at the long period which intervened between the close of the thirteenth and the opening of the eighteenth century is enough to prove the fact. The War of Independence, which broke out at the death of Alexander III., while exhibiting the spirit of patriotism and giving proof of national consolidation, was the beginning of troubles to come. Poverty and distress resulted from the terrible strain which was put upon the manhood and resources of the country, and the constant wars that took place between Scotland and England taxed the nation beyond its strength. The freedom, too, which had been so dearly won, was lost owing, not to conquest by an alien power, but to the arrogance and usurpation of the nobility, who asserted themselves on the one hand against the king, and on the other against the people. It was the commons—*tota communitas*—of Scotland who struggled for the liberty of their country against the attacks of Edward I. and his immediate successors, and though suppressed for more than two centuries, it was they again who fought for their liberties at the time of the Reformation, and it was they, once more, who finally won freedom for their country in the seventeenth century, a freedom sealed and ratified by the Revolution Settlement.

What the Scottish people chiefly dreaded in the attempt of Edward to conquer their country was the danger of

Norman supremacy. They were well aware of what had happened in England at and subsequent to the arrival of William the Conqueror. The ancestors of many who were now becoming the backbone of the country had been driven north into Scotland by the tyranny of the Norman rule and the feudal system which were firmly established across the Border. The Angles who had found a home in the Lothians were joined by their compatriots in increasing numbers. They gradually became interfused with the native races, and steadily made their way along the east coast as far north as Moray. The Norman barons, it is true, received gifts of land from the crown, they built their castles and introduced the feudal system. But Norman rule had never prevailed in Scotland as it did in England, and the people were determined that so far as in them lay it never should. This explains how it was that while the leading nobility were divided in their interests, bending the knee to Edward and even assisting him in his policy, opposition came from other quarters. The Norman barons had lands in England as well as in Scotland; by blood and sympathy they were kin to the power that threatened the country; and it mattered very little to them whether Edward would succeed or not, so long as their personal and selfish interests were safeguarded. The more Celtic population, to the west and north, were strangers to the tyranny which the more Teutonic element dreaded and hated, and they did not, accordingly, join in the struggle to the same extent. They, along with their compatriots in Galloway, were more secure from the threatened invasion, and it was only when national independence was threatened, at a much later date and in a widely different form, that they joined in their country's defence. It was during the War of Independence, upon a consideration of which we are now entering, that we see the Scottish people coming to the surface of the national life, and taking a stand for the liberties of their country. The story of the patriotic struggles which they made, from then till now, is, in reality,

the history of Scotland. Behind the movements which threw to the top kings and nobles, and which popularly find their record in wars and battles, there was a deeper and a stronger movement, that of the growing consciousness of the people to a sense of their rights, their privileges, and their power ; and also of the independence and liberty of the nation of which they formed the largest and, in time, by far the most important part.

It is not without regret that one thinks of the falling off, for a time at least, of the trade of the country, of material comfort, of national prosperity and of individual freedom. The age of Alexander was prosperous and happy, but the sufferings of a people, if they be truly understood and rightly borne, are not the least important factor in their development ; and while deploring the set-back that was given to the progress of the country, and the trials that were endured, one is able to see that, as in the case of the individual, so in that of a nation, perfection comes through suffering.

Within a month of Alexander's death the leading Scotsmen met at Scone—11th April 1286—for the purpose of arranging the affairs of the country. The heir to the throne was Margaret, daughter of Eric of Norway, and granddaughter of the late king. She was an infant. The assembly therefore was under the necessity of appointing a regency. Six were selected, three from north and three from south of the Forth. The prospects of the nation were exceedingly gloomy, and in a very short time aspirants to the throne sprang up in different quarters. The first to assert his right was Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale. He claimed the crown chiefly on the ground that, when Alexander II. despaired of an heir, he had indicated that Bruce should be his successor ; so for two years the Lord of Annandale threatened by force to secure the crown. A new turn was given to affairs in 1289 when Eric, King of Norway, dispatched commissioners to England. He wished to consult Edward, and to secure his interest on behalf of

his daughter, the Scottish queen. This gave the English monarch the opportunity for which he was waiting to interfere in the affairs of the northern kingdom. There can be no doubt that Edward had conceived a scheme with regard to Scotland which meant something more than the mere feudal superiority which he advanced as his claim. It is needless to discuss the reasons which are usually given for the English king's right to meddle with Scottish affairs. It is quite reasonable to suppose that he himself emphasised his feudal rights, real or imaginary, in view of the fact that the age attached importance to such rights. But there is no denying the fact that no Scottish king ever did homage *expressly* for the whole kingdom of Scotland, and the treaty of Falaise wrested from William the Lion, a captive monarch, was speedily and summarily abrogated by Richard I. Even the treaty of Brigham, in which one would expect Edward's claims to be expressly advanced and recognised, affirms the independence of Scotland. Edward's design was to make both countries one. It was a laudable ambition and might have been accomplished, but for the reasons already stated, the growing feeling of Scottish nationality and the hatred of Norman rule. This feeling prevailed chiefly among the free burgesses of the towns, and the farming class that was growing up in their neighbourhood and on Church lands.

There was another element that must be taken account of, and that was the jealousy on the part of the clergy of any interference with their Church by English ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York. The Scottish bishops were jealous of the independence of their Church, and this independence they saw could only be secured by the freedom of their country from English rule. It was these forces, that were gradually gathering and uniting, which made that stand against Edward which at last ended in victory. Doubt has been expressed whether it would not have been better for Scotland, after all, if the English king's design had succeeded. The country

certainly would have been saved much bloodshed, suffering, poverty, hardship and distress. A united Britain would, at that early date, have become a power in the politics of Europe, and the prosperity which had to be postponed for many a century might have been much sooner realised. But Scotland would not have been the Scotland of Wallace and Bruce, of John Knox and Andrew Melville, of Walter Scott and Robert Burns. It had to pay a terrible price for its independence, but there are very few, within or without its borders, who will venture to say that the price was too great.

A brief reference must now be made to the negotiations between Edward and the Scots which led up to the selection of John Baliol as king, and thereafter to the War of Independence. On Edward receiving the communication from Eric, he invited the Scottish guardians to send representatives to Salisbury to deliberate on the affairs of their nation. This was readily agreed to ; four representatives were sent, with instructions that, whatever might be determined upon, they were to be careful to 'save always the liberty and honour of Scotland.' Among other clauses in the treaty there were three of considerable importance. Order must prevail in their country before the Scots would be permitted to receive their queen. The appointment of guardians was to rest virtually in the hands of Edward, and before the marriage of their queen his counsel must be sought and given, as well as her father's consent obtained. Within a year of this treaty Edward divulged part of his scheme, which was, that Margaret was to marry his own son Edward. In this way the two kingdoms would be united under one ruler, who was to be the English king. This proposal was (1290) embodied in the treaty of Brigham, a village in Berwickshire, near the Border. By this same treaty it was agreed that the rights, laws, liberties and customs of Scotland should remain forever inviolable, 'saving always the rights of the King of England which belonged or ought to belong to him.' Edward, in all his

negotiations with the Scots, used this condition as a loophole of escape, and it became the lever in his hands for raising him at a later date to the position of Lord Paramount of Scotland. Other clauses in the treaty still further emphasised the independence of Scotland, and there are those who would see in this the patriotism of the Scottish representatives; but as the men who framed such treaties were churchmen, and as the barons among the commissioners cannot, with the best will in the world, be credited with anything like patriotism, it must have been the bishops who manifested such extreme sensitiveness as to the freedom and rights of their country. Indeed, not only then, but on subsequent occasions, when the Scottish nobility proved themselves quite ready to sell their country for English gold, it was the churchmen who saved the honour of Scotland, and not unfrequently too, at the risk of their own lives.

The peaceful settlement of the succession to the Scottish throne, which all foresaw in the marriage of Margaret and young Edward, was brought to nought by the unexpected death of the Scottish queen. The 'Maid of Norway,' as she was then and has ever since been called, on sailing to her kingdom, suddenly fell ill and died in Orkney, where her vessel called. This sad event was the cause of profound grief to the nation, chiefly perhaps because of the troubles that were sure to arise through the rivalries of those who were certain to aspire to the throne. Thirteen competitors entered, and Edward was called upon to decide on their claims. The English king took full advantage of the opportunity thus placed in his hands for asserting his own claim. As those aspirants with their respective supporters represented practically the whole of the Scottish nobility, and as each was anxious to secure the favour and goodwill of Edward, he knew that they would be likely to agree to any proposal that he might make. In any case, they were well aware that to resist him would be to ruin their own chances

of success. At an assembly held at Norham in 1291 he put forward his claim to be Lord Paramount of Scotland, as a condition of saving the country from civil war and conferring upon it the favour of selecting its king. He granted the Scots twenty-four hours, a respite which was extended to three weeks, for making up their minds. The actual decision of the Scots is not altogether clear. It would seem, however, that while the nobles and clergy sent in nothing against Edward's pretensions, the *communitas* of Scotland disputed his claim. Now the *communitas* consisted of the freeholders and the churchmen, who were the only persons capable of drawing up their reply to Edward's claim, would seem to have had no objections to write it out and present it in proper form. Here then we have the first glimpse of those who a few years afterwards were to stand by Wallace and Bruce in their great fight for Scottish independence. Scotland was not without patriotism even then, and it was found not among the nobility, who were chiefly Norman, but among the Scottish people.

Edward's pretensions having been so far admitted, especially by the aspirants to the throne, the castles of Scotland, as he demanded, were placed in his hands, and so, for the time being, he was virtual master of the country. It was thus that Scotland was sold by those who cherished the vain hope of securing a vassal crown. The list of competitors was cut down to three, and Edward's final decision was given at Berwick on the 17th November 1292. The three were Robert Bruce, son of the second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of William the Lion; John Baliol, grandson of the eldest daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon; and John Hastings, grandson of the third daughter of the same earl. Edward decided in favour of Baliol on the ground that he was descended from the eldest daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. No time was lost in carrying out this decision. Baliol swore fealty to Edward, and was crowned at Scone on the 30th November.

The law of primogeniture which justified Edward's choice of Baliol served his purpose in other respects, for it gave him as a vassal-king one whom he could easily dominate and mould to his own will. He speedily took advantage of the new monarch's character, and caused him to feel his dependent position. He probably did this for the purpose of goading Baliol into rebellion, for even a weak man may in the end turn upon his oppressor, or at all events be compelled to do so by stronger men who suffer through his subjection. This is what took place. Several disputes having arisen between his subjects, and the defeated being dissatisfied with Baliol's judgments, they complained to Edward. The Scottish king appealed to the Lord Paramount, and in spite of the treaty of Brigham, by which the English king bound himself to an agreement that all Scottish cases should be decided in Scotland, he summoned Baliol before him. The Scottish king refusing to obey, Edward peremptorily ordered him to his presence, and on Baliol appearing, he was made to feel his subordinate position, and was sent back to Scotland in 1293 to repair the wrong which, in Edward's opinion, he had done. In the following year Edward again commanded him to attend a Parliament which he had called together for the purpose of raising money for his proposed expedition against Gascony. The Scottish king was sent north to deal faithfully with his subjects, and procure his share of the necessary funds. The Scots, who were never very fond of granting supplies to their own kings, held a council at Scone, and replied by expelling all Englishmen from the Scottish court and forfeiting their estates. One of the nobles thus affected was Bruce, father to King Robert. His lands in Annandale were bestowed on Comyn, and the seeds were thus sown of the future feud between their two houses. The Scots, being now fully aware of Edward's intentions, and conscious of the ineptitude of their own king, appointed a standing committee for the purpose of directing the affairs of the kingdom. With the advice of

this same committee Baliol concluded a treaty with France (1295). There was thus taken the first step towards the close alliance that was to prevail between the two countries which continued until after the Reformation. Their mutual distrust of England threw Scotland and France into each other's arms.

Edward could not be blind to the intentions of the Scots ; they clearly intended to be free from the yoke of England, and any doubt on this head was speedily set at rest by two expeditions which they made into Cumberland and Northumberland (1296). The Lord Paramount determined to take a terrible revenge ; he laid seige to Berwick-on-Tweed, and having reduced it, he gave up the town to a two days' carnage. It is said that seven thousand of its inhabitants, men, women and children, were put to the sword. Thus began those bloody encounters of which the Borders were frequently the scene, and which lasted for close upon three hundred years. Baliol, acting upon the advice of his council, renounced his allegiance, and by this act the goal which Edward wished to reach was gained. Baliol proved a 'Toom Tabard'—not a real king, but an empty 'tabard' or coat of arms. He could now be pushed aside, and the Lord Paramount determined to conquer the country once and for all and make it his own. He marched north to Dunbar, where a battle was fought under the Earl of Surrey, took its castle, and also the castles of Roxburgh, Edinburgh and Stirling. He chased Baliol into Kincardineshire, and here, the Scottish king finding resistance to be hopeless, surrendered at Stracathro. The ceremony attending Baliol's renunciation of the throne and submission to Edward was extremely humiliating to the vassal-king, and made a deep impression on all who witnessed it. He appeared stripped of all kingly ornaments, dressed only in his shirt and drawers, with a white rod in his hand ; surrendering at the same time his baton and staff of office and renouncing all claims to the kingdom. Edward sent him to England as a prisoner, but at the end

of three years Baliol was permitted to retire to his own lands in Normandy. While on his journey his luggage was examined and in it were found the royal crown and the seal of Scotland; gold and silver cups and a sum of money were also discovered. Edward kept the seal, offered the crown at the shrine of Thomas Becket at Canterbury, but permitted Baliol to retain the cups and money to enable him to pay the expenses of his journey.

Every obstacle having now been removed from Edward's path, he set himself to subdue the people. He marched for this purpose as far north as Elgin, finding no opposition on the way. Indeed, the Scottish nobles and clergy willingly offered him homage, and, to the number of about two thousand, signed their names in what is called the 'Ragman's Roll,' recognising him as their king. In the list are to be found the leading families of Scotland, among them that of Robert Bruce, who was afterwards to prove his country's deliverer. Edward on his march south carried with him from Scone the 'Stone of Destiny' on which the Scottish kings had been crowned, and from Edinburgh the Holy Rood or Cross of St Margaret, a sacred relic, believed to be a part of the cross on which our Saviour was crucified. The English king rested at Berwick, where he held a Parliament (28th August 1296). He determined to appoint no more vassal-kings. Turning sharply to Bruce, who had suggested himself as Baliol's successor, he remarked: 'Do you think I have nothing to do but to conquer kingdoms for you?' Here he made final arrangements for the administration of Scottish affairs and the government of the country. Three Englishmen were chosen; John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, as Governor; Hugh de Cressingham as Treasurer; and William Ormsby as Justiciary. No sooner, however, was Edward safe across the Border, and the painful truth dawned upon the Scots that they were under English rule, than they began to manifest that restlessness which finally broke out in the War of Independence. English garrisons were in their castles, Englishmen gathered their taxes, presided

in their courts and administered their laws. This was more than they could stand, and in a very short time ample proof was given that, while Scotland may have been outwardly conquered, the Scots themselves were not subdued.

CHAPTER XIV

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, 1296-1305

WHEN a country is ready for revolt it usually throws up a leader in whom the general discontent is focussed, and by whom it is brought to a head. The hour had arrived, and so had the man in the person of William Wallace, the younger son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Elderslie, Renfrewshire whose ancestor had come north with the Fitz-Alans (the Stewarts). His appearance upon the scene would seem to have been sudden. From his den, as it were, says Fordun, the champion of Scottish freedom now lifted up his head. Though he thus stepped to the front, Wallace, like other noble spirits, must have been brooding over his country's wrongs. Had Edward left the management of Scottish affairs in wiser hands, the revolt of the Scots, which perhaps in the end was inevitable, might at all events have been delayed ; but he made the impossible experiment of trying to govern Scotland by means of an incompetent soldier like Warenne, a headstrong and sensual churchman like Cressingham, and a brutal lawyer like Ormsby. The growing manhood of Scotland could not brook the rule of men like these, and the passionate discontent which was steadily growing burst forth at last and, though stemmed for a time, it finally overwhelmed the English king and English army at Bannockburn.

Not much that is really authentic is known of Wallace. No Scottish chronicler gives the story of his life, but he impressed the popular imagination by his strength, his valour, his dominating personality and his doughty deeds ; and these, some two centuries later, were gathered up and strung together by Blind Harry in the poem which bears the

hero's name. Much that the minstrel relates is discounted as history, but recent research shows that there is more than a grain of truth in some of his stories. They are not all fables, although they may have been coloured by the partiality of the times and of the biographer. Even sober writers are loath to rob the young Scot of those stirring incidents in the early career of Wallace, which fired the soul of succeeding generations of ardent hero-worshippers, and which set aflame the spirit of Burns himself, and gave it that note of irreconcilability, which he admitted to have been a part of his nature. It is therefore with a belief which is more than mythical that one can tell for the thousandth time of the champion of Scottish liberty, while returning from a fishing expedition near Ayr, encountering some Englishmen who wished to relieve him of his booty. The generous Scot was prepared to divide his basket with them, but, not content with so fair an offer, the Southerners demanded the whole. The only weapon which Wallace had was his fishing rod ; with its butt end he struck down one of the Englishmen and, seizing his sword, put the others to flight.

Blind Harry is also the authority for the following incident: Wallace chanced to visit Lanark, to which town his wife belonged ; while walking along the street in company with some friends they were insulted by certain Englishmen, who jeered at their gay attire, and one of them had the audacity to touch Wallace's sword, which was considered to be a great insult. In a moment the Scottish hero drew his sword and slew the Englishman. The garrison was summoned, the Scots took refuge in the house where Wallace was residing, and escaped by the back door to the woods. The Governor of the town surrounded and burned the house, among the victims being Wallace's wife. That very night Wallace retaliated by gathering his friends together, attacking the house of the Governor, Hazelrig, whom they slew in his bedroom, nor did they rest until they became masters of the town.

One more exploit from Blind Harry: The Governor of Ayr had invited many of the neighbouring aristocracy and gentry to meet him, and the reception was to take place in a large building known as the 'Barns of Ayr.' From the rafters hung ropes by which the Scots, as they entered two by two, were hanged. Wallace would seem to have been among the invited guests; fortunately he was late in coming, and while on his way he was met by a woman who told him of what was taking place. He asked her to mark with chalk the doors of the houses in which the English lived, and at night, after they had retired to rest, he and his followers tied the door-handles with ropes and set fire to the houses, in which the inmates perished. Some of the English had taken up their quarters in a convent, where they met with a similar fate, though by other hands; for the Prior of the convent made the Friars arm themselves, and, attacking their English guests, slay them. This was called the 'Friars of Ayr's Blessing.'

Such are some of the stories that gathered round the name of Scotland's most popular hero, but unless he had shown higher qualities than those displayed in these and similar deeds of revenge, he would never have become the leader of the army and the Guardian of Scotland. He was more than a guerilla chief, his entire conduct showed a serious and steadfast purpose and a larger aim than that associated with the deeds of a mere bandit. He was tall, strong, and fair, with a piercing eye, as became a popular champion, but he was more. He was a silent man, and even a sad one, we are told. The sufferings of his countrymen and the miserable condition of his native land would seem to have affected him deeply, and brooding over its wrongs, he formed a scheme for achieving its independence.

It would seem that Wallace's enterprise and success—for among other feats of a more important nature he had about this time surprised and almost captured at Scone Ormsby, who was holding court there—had put some heart

into the Scottish lords, for Bruce, Douglas, the Steward and the Bishop of Glasgow, joined in a rising, but quailed before Clifford and Percy at Irvine, and gave in their submission to the English king. Wallace, however, took full advantage of the trouble that Edward was in with his barons and clergy, and with a growing band of followers, chiefly no doubt of the common people, overran the country, clearing it of the English, and laid siege to Dundee. It was while thus engaged that he heard of Warenne's and Cressingham's determination to crush him. Wallace's example had stirred up rebellion in different parts of the country, and it was felt that as he, along with his friend and ally, Andrew de Moray, was the heart and soul of the movement, his power must be broken and he himself captured or slain.

Wallace hastened to meet the enemy, and found them near Cambuskenneth on the banks of the Forth. The Scottish champion planted his forces on the north side of the river, not far from Stirling, where he awaited the English attack. As there were certain Scots in the English ranks whose hearts were with Wallace, they made overtures for peace. On the morning of the battle, 11th September 1297, two friars were sent to 'that Brigand Wallace,' with overtures for peace. 'Go back,' he replied, 'and tell your masters that we came not here to ask for peace as a boon, but to fight for our freedom. Let them come up when they will, and they shall find us ready to beard them.' There were divided counsels in the English camp; some were clamouring for the fight, others hesitated: the advice of one, Richard de Lundy, to seek a ford of which he knew, where sixty men could ride abreast, was rejected; Warenne would cross by the bridge, over which only two men could ride abreast; so by the bridge they crossed.

Wallace bided his time, allowed a goodly number of the English to cross the bridge, then attacked and seized it, thus cutting the English army into two. Retreat for those who had crossed the bridge was impossible; they were put

to the sword, drowned or taken prisoners. Warenne, who had never crossed the bridge, fled to Berwick, foundering his horse on the way. Cressingham was slain, and so detested was he, that the Scots took the skin off his body and divided it among them as relics. This was the proudest day in Wallace's life. He had beaten the English, captured great booty, and, with the fresh heart which his victory gave to his army, he drove the invaders out of the castles and towns, and freed his country. He had also an eye for its commercial interests, for there is extant a letter written by him and Moray to the cities of Lubeck and Hamburg, apprising them of the liberty which Scotland had regained, and of its readiness to trade with them.

The hero of Stirling, following the custom practised by the Scots since the days of Malcolm Canmore, invaded Northumberland and Cumberland, harrying and ravaging the country as he passed. The English, of course, had frequently retaliated in the same way; but for nearly a hundred years before Edward I. endeavoured to seize the Scottish crown, Border forays had practically ceased. They now began again, and Edward's treatment of the Scots so fired their blood and increased their hatred, that for the next two hundred and fifty years there was to be nothing but strife between the two countries. It was not till the Reformation came, when Scottish interests were seen to be more allied to those of England than to those of France, which had been the 'auld ally,' that the two peoples ceased from bloody war, and began to seek their national salvation through those common actions which were to end in a final union. Wallace was blamed for the cruelties which attended his march, but the temper of the times was savage, the Scots had suffered much, and if they retaliated, they felt themselves justified on the ground that they were only paying back the English in their own coin.

While all this was taking place, Edward was in Flanders, fighting against the French; he returned in March 1298,

and summoned a Parliament at York. A proof of the success of the achievements of Wallace, for which he was ennobled and made Guardian of Scotland, is found in the fact that not one of the Scottish barons who were invited to this Parliament obeyed Edward's summons.

Edward lost no time in starting on his march ; he led, in the month of June, a large body of men into Scotland, choosing the east coast route. The Scots followed their usual practice, for he found the country on his march deserted. His army began to suffer from lack of provisions, for the stores which he had sent round by the Clyde failed to reach him. Dissension also sprang up in his own ranks. He despaired of finding the enemy and might have retraced his steps, but on reaching Kirkliston he was informed, through two Scottish nobles, Patrick (of Dunbar), and the Earl of Angus, that Wallace would be found near Falkirk. Edward immediately went in search of the Scots, and found them, a much smaller body than his own, well posted, and protected in the front by a morass. Wallace on this occasion formed the main body of his troops into four *schiltrons* or squares. This formation resembled somewhat that adopted by the British infantry at Waterloo, his men, however, being armed with spears instead of bayonets. They were thus able to withstand the attack of the English cavalry. Just before the fight began, Wallace said to his men : 'I have brought you to the ring, now show how you can hop.' They hopped or fought with their wonted bravery, but their leader was unable to provide against the attack of the English archers. The deadly arrows began to make havoc of the Scottish 'schiltrons,' and once the steel-wall was broken, the English king charged with his cavalry and scattered the Scots. Wallace was meagrely provided with horsemen and archers. The former fled, but the latter fought with great courage, and withstood the English attack until they were slain almost to a man. It is said that, afterwards, when the battle was over, the enemy admired their tall and strong bodies, as they

lay dead on the field. They, for the most part, belonged to the Forest of Ettrick. Stories sprang up afterwards of divided counsels, and even of treachery among the nobles who were with Wallace. They were believed to have envied him his position as Guardian. There is held to be truth in such stories, nor were they devised in later days to account for Wallace's defeat. It was probably his intention to keep retreating before Edward, and this certainly would have been his wisest policy, but, his position having been betrayed to the English, who immediately prepared to attack him, there was perhaps no option left him but to fight.

For the next few years little is known of the Scottish hero; he would seem to have demitted his office of Guardian, and to have retired from the prominent position which he had held with such distinction as 'leader of the army of Scotland.' But he had inspired his countrymen with a new courage; he had shown them what could be done and might yet be achieved, if they were true to themselves and their country. As a consequence, when Edward retired to England, having done all the mischief he could, the Scots immediately placed the guardianship of the kingdom in the hands of four men, one of whom was Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, the future king. Scotland thus showed its determination, notwithstanding the defeat at Falkirk, to maintain its independence. This for the time being they were the better able to do, because of the trouble Edward was in with his own barons and clergy. The French king also intervened in their behalf, and Pope Boniface VIII. must have startled Edward by declaring that he, and not the English king, was the Lord Superior of Scotland, basing his claim upon the relics of St Andrew, which, while being possessed by, possessed Scotland. But two years afterwards the Pope renounced his claim, and in the year following, 1303, even the French king deserted his old allies.

Scotland now stood alone, and, with an English army

annually invading the country, little hope could be entertained of its being able to withstand the arms of Edward. Stronghold after stronghold had to be given up, and the Scottish nobles one after another were compelled to make their peace with Edward, Bruce among the number. He along with many others had adopted a somewhat shifty policy, being found first on the one side and then on the other. The leading ecclesiastics, Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, and Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, followed the same course. The leaders of the Church perilled their souls by breaking their oaths, then as at a later date. They belonged to the patriotic party, and, when the hour arrived, the Church, as a body, pronounced in favour of Bruce. By the year 1304 the north as well as south was subdued, and even Comyn yielded. But in the general terms and conditions of capitulation which determined the safety of those who swore fealty to the English king one exception was made. No pardon was to be extended to Wallace. The only stronghold that still held out was Stirling Castle, commanded by Sir William Oliphant. Edward advanced against it with a strong force, and made every effort to reduce it. Even the churches were stripped of their lead to provide him with material for the siege, and his queen watched the operations from her window. At last, after resisting all 'England and all recreant Scotland for nearly four months' Oliphant was compelled to surrender. His life and those of his garrison were spared.

Little is known of Wallace during all this time. He had gone to France with the object, no doubt, of enlisting the support of the French king, from whom he had received a safe-conduct to proceed to Rome, again, no doubt, to persuade the Pope to assist his country in its dire need. He returned to Scotland and, although he did not figure on the stage of national affairs, his very presence must have been an inspiration to his countrymen. Edward was determined to seize him, and bribed those whom he was sending into banishment by a promise of shortening their exile or

lowering their ransom, if 'between now and the 20th day after Christmas they took Messire Willame le Waleys and gave him up to our king.' Edward had not long to wait; the Scottish hero was taken at Robroyston near Glasgow, and the man whose name has been handed down to posterity branded with so base a betrayal was Sir John Menteith. The story goes that Menteith, or one of his followers, turned a loaf over as a sign to the English that Wallace was hiding near by. The Scottish champion was seized and taken prisoner to London. It is from this incident that the tradition known as 'Whummle the Bannock' has sprung. To indulge in this practice was a deadly insult to a Menteith should he happen to be present. Wallace could expect no mercy from Edward, nor was any vouchsafed to him. He was judged and condemned before he was tried, if trial he ever had. He was accused of many things, but his great crime, undoubtedly, in the eyes of Edward, was that he had never sworn fealty to him. The sentence accordingly was merciless; he was condemned to die a traitor's death. He was hanged and afterwards beheaded; his body was disembowelled and quartered. His head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, and his limbs were exposed at Newcastle, Berwick, Stirling and Perth (23rd August 1305). 'Wallace,' says a recent writer, 'died as Archibald Cameron was to die in 1753 by the same brutal method and for the same crime. Like the limbs of Montrose, the limbs of Wallace were scattered to every airt. The birds had scarcely pyked the bones bare before Scotland was again in arms, which it did not lay down till the task of Wallace was accomplished. We know little of the man, the strenuous, indomitable hero. He arises at his hour like Jeanne d'Arc; like her, he wins a great victory; like her, he receives a sword from a saint; like hers, his limbs were scattered by the English; like her, he awakens a people; he falls into obscurity; he is betrayed and slain. The rest is mainly legend. For the scattered members, long ago irrecoverable, of the

hero, no stately grave has been built as for the great Marquis of Montrose. But the whole of a country's soil, as Pericles said, is her brave men's common sepulchre. Wallace has left his name on crag and camp—'Like a wild flower all over his dear country.' He has left his deeds

' . . . like a family of Ghosts
To people the steep rocks and river banks,
Her natural sanctuaries, with a local soul
Of independence and stern liberty.'

CHAPTER XV

ROBERT BRUCE, 1306-1329

THE triumph of Edward seemed now to be complete. Every obstacle was apparently removed from his path, and he set himself to arrange the government of the country. He would have no more vassal-kings, and appointed as lieutenant-guardian his own nephew, John of Brittany. The laws of Scotland were not to be interfered with, except where they came into conflict with its dependence upon England. Eight justiciars and a similar number of sheriffs were appointed, in place of four of each as of old. A semblance of justice was introduced into the scheme by the fact that the commissioners whom Edward had selected for drawing up this 'Ordinance for the Government of Scotland' consisted of ten men from each country. Edward, however, had so often made final arrangements, as he supposed, for the government of Scotland, that he ought not to have evinced surprise when he discovered, six months afterwards, that his new constitution existed only on paper. The will of the people, in place of having been broken, was set against him in a more determined fashion than ever, and their hearts, so far from being softened, were hardened and filled with justifiable hatred. There are those who think that, had it not been for the sudden appearance of Robert Bruce on the scene, all might have gone well with the new arrangements, and that time would have healed the wound that rankled in the breasts of Scotsmen, and united the two countries. But no nation, least of all the Scots, could possibly forget the harsh rule of twelve long years such as that to which Edward had subjected North Britain. He had the opportunity,

if he had had the wisdom, to unite the two countries under one rule, and have thus saved centuries of bloodshed and bitterness, but he did not understand the temper of the people, and the dire calamities to which he subjected their country again and again created a feeling of bitterness and resentment which has hardly yet died out. A new and final turn was to be given to the conflict between the two countries, unexpected as it was dramatic.

The 10th of February 1306 is an important date in Scottish history, for on that day Robert the Bruce stabbed the Red Comyn in the chapel of the Minorite Convent in Dumfries. There was an old feud between these two nobles ; it had broken out some years previously in Selkirk Forest, when they were found seizing each other by the throat. Their jealousy would find ground in the fact that each was a legitimate aspirant to the throne. Comyn was a descendant of Donald Bane, and a nephew of John Baliol, while Bruce was the grandson of that Bruce whom Alexander III., failing an heir, destined as his successor. There must have been in the breast of each a secret hope of becoming king of Scotland, and they naturally regarded each other as rivals. They were the two most important men in the country in virtue of descent, possessions, and influence, and it might be difficult to say which had the better claim. The story of the quarrel has been variously told, and it is difficult to ascertain the truth. The form of it which has received the most credence is the one which tells of a secret compact between the two men. The bargain is recorded as follows : Bruce said to Comyn, ' If you will help me to get the crown I will give you my lands, or, if you like, I will help you to get the crown if you give me your lands.' Comyn preferred the first form of the bargain, taking Bruce's lands on his promise to help him to become king. But in place of keeping his promise he betrayed Bruce to Edward, and on the two meeting afterwards in Dumfries, Bruce upbraided Comyn with his treachery and stabbed him with his dagger. On rushing out of the chapel, Bruce cried to his

two friends, Lindsay and Kirkpatrick, saying, 'I am afraid I have killed Comyn.' Kirkpatrick replied, 'I mak sikkar,' that is, 'I will make sure,' and the two, rushing into the church, stabbed the wounded Comyn to death. For Bruce the die was now cast; he must go on and make good his claim to the throne, or fall into the hands of Edward and be beheaded as a traitor. He chose the more daring course.

It must be admitted that, apart from Bruce's own personality, which as yet had not revealed and proved itself, his chance of success seemed hopeless. To begin with, his past was against him, he had shifted so often from the one side to the other, now supporting the Scots, now acting as Edward's man, that no steadfast reliance could be placed upon him. In doing so it is true he was only following the fashion of the times, for the Scottish nobles having lands in England as well as in Scotland were tempted to shape their policy to suit their own interests. Even the leading ecclesiastics would seem to have had little scruple in following the same course. Then Bruce was excommunicated for his murder of Comyn. Although this did not in reality, as events proved, weigh much with the Scottish Church or people, still it was in other relations a serious hindrance to his success. The country, moreover, was overrun by the English; they held every stronghold, and Edward's wrath was so roused against Bruce for his sacrilegious murder of Comyn, who was his ally, that he vowed to rest not until he had avenged the deed. Edward's usual clemency in his treatment of the Scottish nobility who had so often broken their oath was now to have an end, and those whom he seized, after the rising of Bruce, were executed as traitors.

Bruce in a very short time showed that he was in earnest; within six weeks of his murder of Comyn (27th March) he was crowned at Scone. The ceremony was a mean one compared with that which graced the coronation of Alexander III. Only two earls, three bishops, and one abbot were present, and as the Earl of Fife, who ought to

have placed the crown on his head, was on the side of Edward, the honour fell to the earl's sister, the Countess of Buchan, but the real crown was gone, and so was the Stone of Destiny.

Edward was making great preparations for his invasion of Scotland, but in the meantime he dispatched to the north the Earl of Pembroke, who surprised Bruce at Methven. The Scottish king was utterly unaware of the impending attack of the English force, and the marvel is that he escaped ; indeed, he was dismounted three times and was once nearly taken, but he and his followers made good their flight and took to the heather. It was during the experiences that now awaited him in the wilds of Scotland, that Bruce proved himself to be that ' perfect knight ' which touched the imagination and won the admiration and affection of his countrymen. The romance of his wanderings and of his narrow escapes forms a picturesque story, and anticipates that of his descendant, the Bonnie Prince Charlie, after the fatal field of Culloden.

During the period that intervened between this stage in his fortunes and his final triumph at Bannockburn, many stories have gathered round the name of Bruce, and of those of his two companions in arms, the Good Sir James Douglas, and Bruce's own nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph. These stories were woven together by the poet Barbour in his poem called *The Brus*. Here again as in the case of Blind Harry's *Wallace*, much has to be discounted as genuine history, but good authorities of a recent date are prepared to accept as something more than vain tradition many of the stories that Barbour weaves into his patriotic epic. Whether true or not, in detail or in substance, the romance that has gathered round the names of the three Scottish paladins has done much to fire the imagination of our native youth, and to shape the course of Scottish history. Bruce himself had an engaging and commanding personality ; he was tall and strong, skilled in all the arts of knighthood and chivalry ; cultured beyond his age, and

endowed with a pleasant humour, which cheered his followers in the hour of defeat.

After the skirmish at Methven, Bruce wandered for some months in the Highlands, but finding such a life unsuited to the ladies of his household, he sent them under the care of his brother Nigel and the Earl of Atholl to Kildrummie castle in Aberdeenshire, the charge of which had been committed to him by Edward. The castle, however, was taken by the Prince of Wales, and the ladies sought safety in the sanctuary of Saint Duthac's chapel at Tain. Being traitors, no sanctuary was provided them, the queen and her daughter Marjory were imprisoned, and Bruce's sister, Mary, and the Countess of Buchan were confined in wooden cages in the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. Young Nigel Bruce and the Earl of Atholl were executed, and many others of lesser note met with a similar fate.

Bruce, meanwhile, was heading towards the West, and as he entered Argyll he was attacked, near Tyndrum, by the Lord of Lorn, uncle of the slaughtered Comyn. Here, according to tradition, he gave a display of that personal prowess for which he was famous. 'Two brothers had sworn to take his life, and bringing a comrade to aid them, they watched until the retreating party had to pass between a lake and its abrupt bank. Bruce was the last, and the passage was so narrow that it was impossible for him to turn his horse; then the three leaped on him like wild cats. One seized the bridle and hung by the horse's head, and was instantly cut down. Another got his hands between the stirrup and the boot and tried, by heaving up the rider's foot, to unhorse him. This was well known as a trick of ill-armed assailants reckless of life among themselves, for if once overbalanced the weight of the mail made recovery of the seat difficult. Bruce stood straight up in his stirrups and dragged the mountaineer after him, while the third alighted behind, and grasping him tightly tried to help in the unhorsing. The hero twisting himself round cleft his head, and then, having

no more to deal with, cut down the man dragged at the stirrup.'

A story of equal daring is told of the Good Sir James Douglas. Not long after Bruce landed at Turnberry, Douglas thought he would like to punish the English, 'who held his father's castle in Douglasdale in Lanarkshire, so one night he went in disguise to the house of a faithful servant, called Thomas Dickson, who lived near the castle. He told Dickson what he had come for. On the holiday called Palm Sunday all the English soldiers came to Church, and Douglas and his men were also there. In the middle of the service Douglas dropped his cloak and drew his sword, and shouted, 'A Douglas, a Douglas.' This was the signal that had been agreed upon, and at once the Scots fell upon the English, who were taken by surprise and were all slain. The Scots thereafter went to the castle, helped themselves to the dinner prepared for the soldiers, then piled up the fuel and food; beheaded the prisoners, threw their bodies on the heap, emptied the wine casks over it, and set fire to the whole. This was called by the Scots the 'Douglas Larder.'

'For meal and malt and blood and wine
Ran all together in a mellyn (mixture).'

The taking of Edinburgh castle at a later date by Sir Thomas Randolph proves him to have been the equal of Bruce and Douglas in intrepid daring and valour. The story is told as follows: 'A gentleman called Francis came to Randolph and told him he could show him a way of climbing into the castle. Randolph, accordingly, came one night with thirty men to the bottom of the castle rock, each of them having a ladder. They then began to climb the rock, Francis going first. When they had climbed a good way up one of the English sentinels suddenly called out, "Aha, I see you well," and threw a stone over the wall, which luckily went over the heads of the climbers.

They thought, of course, that they had been found out, but they lay quite still, and no more stones were thrown, for the sentinel had only been jesting with his comrades. So after a while Randolph and his men began to climb again till they came to the castle wall, then each man put his ladder to the wall and got safely over it, but the English were either asleep or had not their weapons, so that Randolph and his men had an easy victory, and the chief castle in Scotland was won.'

Stories of the success of Bruce and his followers, such as those now recorded—and there were many more passing from mouth to mouth—would speedily put heart into the Scottish people, and both create and steady their confidence in their king. When they found in him a man capable of leading, they soon showed their own readiness to be led.

After his experiences in Argyll, and finding that it was unsafe to remain even on the mainland of Scotland, Bruce, with a handful of followers, among whom was his brother Edward, is supposed to have sought safety in the Island of Rathlin, off the north coast of Ireland. Some think, seeing that Rathlin was in the hands of Edward, it is more likely that Bruce went for a short time to Orkney or to Norway. In any case, in February of 1307 he landed at Turnberry, his own castle on the Ayrshire coast. He, in the first instance, ran into Brodick Bay, and after taking the castle there, he waited for an opportunity to land on the mainland. An old retainer at Turnberry was to give the signal, when it might seem safe for him to land. A light, the signal agreed on, was seen one night, and Bruce with his party sailed for the mainland. They found, however, that a mistake had been made, and Bruce was for returning, but his brother Edward, having ventured so far, would listen to no such counsel, and, fortunately yielding to his will, Robert remained, and in a short time captured the castle. The king's two brothers, Thomas and Alexander Bruce, landing some time afterwards with an Irish force, were

defeated by Macdouall or Macdougall of Galloway, seized and hanged at Carlisle.

Edward lay at Lanercost waiting for news of Bruce's capture. Strong detachments of his army were sent in his pursuit, and they were assisted by close upon a thousand light-footed Highlanders from the Isles. They spread themselves over Galloway, where Bruce was hiding, and every day Edward expected to hear the news of the capture of king 'Hobbe,' as he satirically called him, but he was doomed to disappointment. By his knowledge of the country, which, by its wildness, inaccessibility and havens of refuge assisted him, Bruce managed to evade every effort, and breaking at last through the net that encircled him, strongly planted his small but valiant force on Loudon Hill. There he was attacked by the English, under Aymer de Valence. The Scottish king obtained a notable victory which, while sending the English commander discomfited back to his master, rallied to his side many of his own countrymen, who were waiting to see how the cat would jump. The English monarch was enraged at the lack of success which attended the efforts of his generals, and determined to advance in force for the reconquest of the country; but death overtook him at Burgh-on-Sands. It is difficult, of course, to say what the results might have been had Edward lived to carry out his purpose; but, as events turned out, judging by the spirit and enterprise of Bruce, and the character of Edward's son and successor, one might have been safe in predicting the final triumph of the Scottish king and the freedom of his country.

Scotsmen cannot wholly share in that admiration for the great Plantagenet which animates the breast of most English writers. They naturally judge him by the policy which guided his dealings with their own country, and from that point of view they have good grounds for condemnation. Granting that his aim was justifiable in so far as he wished to unite the two kingdoms under one rule,

and thus form a compact monarchy, which might in the end have been to the advantage of all concerned, yet the methods which he adopted were, considering the temper and spirit of the people, doomed to disappointment. That strain in him of the attorney, rather than the statesman, which magnified ancient concessions, wrested from a defeated but never-conquered people, into present advantages and future rights, blinded him to the larger issue of national independence, which he by his tyrannical conduct fostered in Scotsmen's breasts. His prolongation of the struggle, and the harsh and cruel measures which he in the end adopted for the accomplishment of his purpose, created a feeling of hatred that found expression in succeeding generations in Border raids and forays, which perpetuated the struggle and left memories that can hardly be said even yet to have passed into oblivion.

The dying monarch gave, according to tradition, instructions to his son to carry his bones at the head of the army, which was once more to subdue Scotland. But his unworthy son failed to implement the double promise which he may have made to his father, for he neither carried Edward's bones at the head of his army, nor did he conquer Scotland. He buried the great Plantagenet in Westminster Abbey, and after marching as far as Cumnock in Ayrshire, he retraced his steps to his own country, and when he did make another formidable attempt to carry out the behests of the great Edward, it was only to sustain the most crushing defeat that ever befell an English army on Scottish soil.

Much interest will naturally be felt in the question as to who were those who stood by Bruce during those early years of trial. It cannot be said that the nation was even yet whole-heartedly with him. Indeed, many of the barons, as can be seen from his forfeiture of their estates at a later date, must have been against him; while others were indifferent. The commons, composed of burgesses, freeholders, smaller farmers and dependents, who had

been stirred into activity by the bravery and patriotism of Wallace, had, after the hero's capture and death, for the most part fallen away, dispirited. The Church of Rome, too, was against him, because of his sacrilegious slaughter of Comyn. It is more than likely that, as in the case of David, king of Israel, in his earlier struggles, Bruce's followers were composed of broken men, who had suffered from the hands of the English, and of nobles and knights who had lost all, and who had nothing to gain by entering into the English peace. They were the very kind of men to do valiant service for Bruce at this period in his career, and when the stringency and cruelty of the English laws, and the ruthless spirit, which Edward now began to display towards Scotland, began to be felt in all their harshness, many must have broken away and joined Bruce. They would be the more encouraged to do this by his own successes, and, in a very short time, as may be seen from those who formed his army at Bannockburn, the class that aided Wallace now began to rally round him, and it only required that supreme event to concentrate the different interests and forces which afterwards united, and have ever since continued as the embodiment of Scottish patriotism. Another factor in the final triumph of Bruce must be specially noted. Whatever may have been the attitude of the Church of Rome, the Church of Scotland was, from the very beginning, on the side of Bruce. Indeed, before the slaughter of Comyn, Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, and Bruce entered into a compact. The Scottish Church was ever jealous of the English Church, which time and again wished to be the ecclesiastical overlord, just as Edward desired to be the civil; and the Scottish bishops, determined to make their voices heard, proclaimed at a Provincial Council, held at Dundee (1310), that Robert the Bruce was the 'lawful king of Scotland.' This pronouncement was of great value; the Church had many vassals and dependants, and they now would be at the service of the Scottish king;

besides, the very fact of the ecclesiastical authorities being in favour of the resolute monarch would, to a large extent, stultify the effect of his excommunication, and bring to his side the people, over whom the influence of the Church was in many respects supreme.

Meanwhile (1308) Edward Bruce overran Galloway, subdued it, took its castles and brought it under his brother's rule. The arms of Douglas met with equal success in Tweeddale. Bruce himself invaded Lorn and Argyll, and captured Dunstaffnage castle. A sign as to how the wind was blowing may be seen in the attempt of Philip of France to bring about a truce between the two countries, and in Edward appointing the Earl of Ulster to treat for peace with Bruce. The Scottish king now felt himself strong enough (1311) to cross into England, after a feeble and futile attempt on the part of Edward to invade Scotland. Having advanced as far as Durham, he returned to Scotland and, marching north, took Perth (1312-1313). Other strongholds, such as Roxburgh, Dumfries, and Linlithgow followed, and feeling himself free from any attacks on the part of the English, he made his way through Cumberland and landed in the Isle of Man, which he gained for the Scottish crown. The only stronghold that still held out was Stirling castle, and in Lent of 1313 it was invested by Edward Bruce. It was here and then that the Governor of the castle, Sir Philip de Mowbray, threw a challenge to the besieger, which, accepted in the spirit of knight-errantry, led up to the 'crowning mercy' of Bannockburn : it was that if the castle was not relieved by the 24th June of the following year, it would be surrendered to the besiegers. The Scottish king did not approve of his brother's action ; he knew that his conduct would involve a pitched battle and, however great his own successes in the past, he did not feel confident that the nation was strong and united enough to risk such a venture ; but the die was cast, and both countries began to prepare at once for war.

The English king, in spite of the difficulties which faced him at home, marshalled together a greater and more imposing army than had been seen in that generation. He exhausted the military resources of his own country, and drew to him levies from Ireland and France. It is declared that he led a hundred thousand men across the Border and, on the day before the date agreed upon, he brought them face to face with the Scottish army. Bruce chose his ground with the skill of a great general. He planted the main body of his troops in the royal park, situated between the Bannock burn and Stirling castle. His force did not number half of that of the English, whose war carriages alone, if arranged in line, were computed to stretch for twenty leagues. Many of his men, however, were well-trying veterans, who were accustomed, under their leaders, to do the work, single-handed, of five men. What the Scottish army may have lacked in numbers was further made up by the fact that they were fighting for home and country, and by the skill and bravery of their commander. Bruce was a great general, who had proved his ability in many a battle, and the foresight and prudence which he invariably displayed were conspicuous on this occasion. The Bannock, although but a rivulet, was still a natural means of defence, and, as the event proved, put serious difficulties in the way of the English. Flanking the burn were bogs and morasses and, to assist nature in putting additional obstacles in the way of the enemy, Bruce dug pits which he lightly covered over, and which served as traps for the enemy's horse. Scattered over the field he placed spikes or calthrops, for the purpose of wounding or impeding Edward's cavalry. On the eve of the battle two events happened which were regarded by the English as unfavourable omens. A troop of three hundred horse under Lord Clifford and the Earl of Gloucester were sent from the English camp with supplies for the castle of Stirling. Bruce, on observing this movement, turned to Randolph and said, 'A rose has fallen from your

chaplet.' On this the Scottish captain led a body of infantry to intercept the English advance. Douglas, who noticed the unequal contest, craved liberty from Bruce to go to the assistance of his friend. The king refused to grant the request, but the Good Sir James, unable to restrain himself, disobeyed the king. On approaching the scene of conflict, he found that Randolph had worsted the enemy, and unwilling to snatch the honour from his friend he allowed him to complete his victory. This skirmish was followed by a hand-to-hand encounter in which Bruce himself played the leading part. The king had ridden forth on his palfrey to view the Scottish lines, and an English knight, Sir Henry de Bohun, knowing him to be the Bruce by the crown of gold which surmounted his helmet, thought to settle the contest at a stroke. He, accordingly, mounted on his war horse, in full armour and with spear in rest, rode straight against the Scottish king. The fate of the nation depended upon Bruce's eye and hand, nor did they fail him. When de Bohun was almost upon him, Bruce swerved aside, thus avoiding his assailant's lance, and, rising in his stirrup, he struck his battle-axe at de Bohun's helmet with such force that he clave it in twain and felled its wearer to the ground.

That night was spent by the English army in revelry, but by the Scots in devotion. On the morrow Bruce completed his dispositions. Even at this, the eleventh hour, he may have thought of retreat, for he could not forget the fate of Wallace at Falkirk. He knew the vital issues that depended upon the battle, and it is said that, before putting the issue to the touch, he consulted his men. They were eager for fight. He had also heard that the English were dispirited, and he knew that their leader was a weakling. Still he left nothing to chance, and dreading the English archers, he had ready a body of cavalry under the command of Keith the Earl Marischal to intervene at the critical moment. His brother Edward commanded the right wing, Randolph the vanguard,

and Douglas and Walter the Steward the third division, he himself taking charge of the reserve composed of men from his own district of Carrick and of Highlanders from the Isles. Bruce allowed the English to attack, and, from the nature of the ground, they had no option but to make their first onslaught in front and across the Bannock. Here they met their first difficulty, and the other wings of their army, advancing on the right and left, were so impeded by the pits and bogs that, in place of getting in a body to the Scottish lines, they were thrown into disorder and rode over each other. The ground, besides, was too limited for the proper deploying of so large a body of troops as the English king commanded, and the pressure from the rear only crowded those in advance into disordered groups which left them an easy prey for the Scottish spearmen. The English archers now began their deadly work, but they were dispersed and trodden down by the Scottish cavalry. In the hand-to-hand struggle that was now taking place the advantage lay with Bruce, whose men, kept well in hand, were playing terrible havoc among the English, who were unable to extricate themselves from the difficulties of their position, or to make use of the reserves that they had still at command. At this critical moment an event happened which turned the fortunes of the day. A height overlooked the battlefield, called Gillies Hill, and from it the astonished English saw what seemed to be a second army descending in hot haste to render assistance to Bruce. They were in fact yeomen, shepherds, and camp-followers, who had been watching the battle from a safe distance, and when they saw how the tide was turning they rushed down to give the finishing stroke to the victory that was now almost in Bruce's grasp, and to gain their share of the rich booty which they knew was certain to fall to the Scottish army. If their sudden advent was all that was necessary to give the final resolve to the English king and to hasten the retreat which he was meditating, it was also a signal to

Bruce to bring up his reserves and attack with full force the weakened English lines. A slaughter now took place which was appalling. The burn was choked with the English dead, and if Bruce had had at his command a sufficient body of cavalry, scarcely an English knight or soldier would have escaped. Edward himself was all but captured. He succeeded, however, in escaping, and fled to Stirling castle, which the governor told him was no safe refuge. He thereupon headed for the south, chased by the Good Sir James with a handful of horse. Ultimately he found shelter in the castle of Dunbar, whence he took ship to England.

Bannockburn was one of the decisive battles of the world. Had Bruce been defeated, Scotland might have sunk into the condition of Ireland. The English were humiliated ; they looked upon their defeat as a punishment for their sins. Among the slain were forty-two knights, and twenty barons ; the prisoners were numerous, and it rained ransoms for many a day. Among those exchanged were the queen and her daughter Marjory, and Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow. The booty was enormous, and it added to the permanent wealth of the country. The results of the battle soon showed themselves. The Scottish king took full advantage of his victory, and no fewer than six inroads or invasions were made into England, all for the purpose of bringing Edward to terms. Bruce showed what a strong Scottish king could do just as Malcolm Canmore and David I. had done before him, especially when the sister kingdom was governed by an incapable monarch.

Bruce now set himself to consolidate his kingdom and to set its affairs in order. At an Assembly held at Ayr (26th April 1315) it was arranged that, if he died with no male heir, his brother Edward and his male heirs should succeed him. An invitation about this time came from the Irish of Ulster, asking Bruce to assist them against the English, and Edward, who is said to have found Scotland too narrow a sphere for himself

and the king, landed at Carrickfergus, May 1315, with six thousand men. Should he succeed he was promised the Irish crown, which he indeed secured the year following. His reign, however, was brief, although he gained many victories ; in October 1318 he was defeated and slain at Dundalk. His invasion of Ireland, though it ended in failure, gave a serious check to English aggression, and pointed towards the settlement in Ulster of a body of Scotsmen who were destined to be the moral backbone of the north of Ireland.

The Scottish king speedily found himself master of the whole country. The only region that remained disaffected was the Western Isles, and, two years after Bannockburn, it was brought into subjection. Bruce now felt himself strong enough to defy even the Pope. In 1317 the head of the Papacy, John XXII., took upon himself to interfere in Scottish affairs, his object being to bring about a truce between the two countries. For this object he dispatched two Cardinals to England, who sent a messenger to Bruce with the Papal instructions and commands. But not being addressed as king, Bruce would not receive the message, humorously remarking that the missive must have been sent to the wrong man. Next a Minorite Friar was sent ; Bruce would not see him, and the unfortunate man on his way back to Berwick-on-Tweed was waylaid and robbed, and was under the necessity of appearing in that Border town 'stripped to the buff.' The Friar's entry into Berwick in so humiliating a condition may have been accepted by the townsfolk as an evil omen. In any case, the year after (1318) Bruce captured it, and Edward's subsequent attempt to retake the stronghold was unsuccessful. It was to cause a diversion that Douglas and Randolph crossed the Border. At Mytton-on-Swale they were met by the English under the Archbishop of York, who probably wished to emulate his predecessor at the battle of the Standard. The result of the engagement was very different ; the Scottish captains

gained a notable victory, and among those left dead on the field were three hundred of the archbishop's clerics. The battle, for this reason, is known as the Chapter of Mytton.

In order, if possible, to induce the English to treat Scotland as an independent nation, a great assembly was held at Arbroath (1320), when an important document was drawn up, declaring that Scotland from time immemorial was an independent country, and that it had now a lawful king. This document was communicated to the Pope for the purpose of inducing him to bring the English to terms. In it we find that distinctive note of patriotism which subsequently found expression in Barbour's noble apostrophe to Freedom in *The Brus*.

'Ah! freedom is a noble thing!
Freedom makes man to have liking;
Freedom all solace to man gives,
He lives at ease that freely lives.'

The Pope, meanwhile, seems to have turned a deaf ear to this appeal, and Edward, two years later, invaded Scotland, marching as far as Edinburgh. He found the country deserted, and the Scots in turn pursued his retreating army, chasing it as far as Byland in Yorkshire. To add to the English king's troubles, one of his nobles, the Earl of Carlisle, was discovered to be in league with the Scots, and Edward found matters generally so uncomfortable in his own country, and particularly on the Borders, that he entered into a truce with the Scots (30th May 1323 till 1336). To strengthen his country's hands in the advantage thus gained, Randolph was sent to Rome. His negotiations were at first promising, but the English king caused his displeasure to be made known, and all that the Pope would agree to was that the ban of excommunication would be withdrawn from Scotland on condition that the town of Berwick should be given up to the English. To this the Scots would not listen, preferring to bear their excommunication a little while longer.

An important event in the constitutional history of Scotland took place in 1326. A Parliament was held at Cambuskenneth Abbey. This was really the first genuine Parliament that was ever summoned and met in Scotland, and for this reason alone it gives importance to the reign of Robert Bruce. Another vital feature about it is found in the fact that, for the first time, there were added to the Estates representatives from the burghs. In this we find a recognition of the people, an admission of their right to share in the government of the country. Bruce must have felt that they were thoroughly entitled to this recognition ; without their aid he could never have gained the glorious victory of Bannockburn, the crown of Scotland, and the independence of his country. Besides, the object of this parliament necessitated their presence. It was to get the consent of the nation to levy a tax for the payment of the great expenses contracted by the long-continued wars. That the burghs should be invited is a proof that they were rising in importance, and that citizens of means were already among their inhabitants. The king's demand was cordially agreed to, and a tenth penny of all rents was granted.

The fortunes of Scotland were about to be further advanced. In 1327 Edward II. was deposed and shortly afterwards murdered. He was succeeded by his son, Edward III., a boy of fifteen. Notwithstanding the truce which was confirmed, the Scots indulged in those Border raids which, although brilliant, never seemed to come to any definite issue. One of these has become historical ; its leaders were Bruce's two most skilful and trusted captains, Randolph and Douglas. They and their followers rode lightly on small ponies, and each man carried a bag of oatmeal and a girdle on which to cook it. The cakes thus baked, with a drink of water, supplied all their wants. Young Edward came to meet them with a large army and heavy baggage. The Scots rode hither and thither, plundering as they went, and the English could not

get to close quarters with them. At last Edward thought he could force them to battle. He found the Scots on the top of a hill on the banks of the river Wear and, after the usual method of knight-errantry and chivalry, the English sent a message to the Scots inviting them to come down and fight them. Randolph and Douglas were too wary and experienced to anticipate the blunders of Flodden and Dunbar; they preferred to elude Edward's grasp and to engage him once more in a fruitless chase. Thus did they play with Edward for three long months, and he was forced to return with his object unaccomplished.

Their unfortunate experience on this occasion, added to the others which have been recorded, brought the English to a more peaceful frame of mind, and in May of 1328 a treaty was signed at Northampton, which conceded to the Scots every point that they demanded. The independence of the Scottish people was recognised, their king was admitted to be an independent sovereign, and, as a seal to the amicable settlement thus arrived at, it was arranged that Joanna, Edward's sister, was to marry the son and heir of Robert Bruce.

The reign of Bruce was now drawing to a close. The last years of his life were spent chiefly at Cardross on the Clyde. He would seem to have busied himself in forming a navy, and pastime would be afforded him in sailing in his yacht—'the king's great ship'—on the beautiful Firth of Clyde. He died on the 7th June 1329, in his fifty-sixth year (of leprosy it was asserted), and his body was buried in Dunfermline Abbey. He vowed in his later years that, if life were spared him and his country at peace, he would devote his remaining time and strength to fighting the wars of the Lord in Palestine, but the hand of death was upon him, and he bade the Douglas carry his heart—which he had bequeathed to Melrose Abbey—along with the Scottish troops to the Crusades. This the Good Sir James strove to do, but hearing, while on his way, that a war had risen in Spain between the Christians and the Moors, he turned aside

to aid his co-religionists. Finding himself surrounded and escape impossible, he threw the heart of Bruce into the midst of his foes, crying, 'Go first as thou wert wont,' and so perished. The sacred relic was recovered, and was taken by Lockhart of the Lee to Melrose Abbey, where it was piously buried.

Bruce was the greatest of Scottish kings, and his work was permanent; even the reaction and disgrace of his successor's reign could not undo it. It survives until the present day. David I., the greatest of his predecessors, consolidated his country, but Bruce, as it has been well remarked, saved it. His slaughter of Comyn was the turning-point in his career. Previous to this his interests would seem to have been divided and his character unformed, but when the die was cast a definite purpose faced him, and, concentrating all the energies of his nature on its accomplishment, he developed into a great patriot king. He had many personal charms, and as a knight and leader ranked among the first of his age. He was endowed with prudence and foresight; he shone in adversity even more than in prosperity. In defeat he was undismayed, in victory he was restrained and cautious. His humour disarmed opposition, and his culture enabled him to illustrate his own experiences and those of his friends by examples from the heroic past. He won the admiration and affection of the people, and helped to produce that self-consciousness and self-respect, which came to full fruition with Knox and the Reformation. He gave the burghs a recognised place in the government of the country. He liberally rewarded his friends, particularly Randolph and Douglas, with large tracts of land, which his disloyal nobles had forfeited. He thus, however, forged a two-edged sword which proved destructive to his immediate successor. The great houses that he created became a danger to the throne, and the forfeited barons, smarting under their punishment, resolved upon revenge. Nevertheless his achievements and his character raised the nation to a higher level than it had

ever reached before, and the spirit of his life so fired the breast of Scotland, that even yet one has only to mention his name to call up the great principle of freedom and of independence, which it regards as its dearest heritage from the past.

CHAPTER XVI

DAVID II., 1329-1371

‘WOE to the country whose king is a child.’ This might well have been the burden of the song which the Scots sang when the son of the great Bruce was crowned at Scone (24th November 1331). The new king is known in Scottish history as David II., and he was only in his eighth year when he began to reign. He was crowned as no other Scottish king had been crowned, for he was anointed with holy oil sent specially by the Pope, for which, however, 12,000 gold florins had to be paid. This pious act, which was supposed to put him on a level with the ancient kings of Israel and to remove any doubts as to his right to rule, had very little effect upon the youthful monarch, for he proved himself to be one of the most incapable and unworthy of Scottish kings. His father, foreseeing the dangers that awaited the kingdom under so young a ruler, had nominated Randolph, Earl of Moray, as Regent. This great captain was soon called upon to defend his country, for the ‘disinherited’ barons, who by the treaty of Northampton had their estates restored, finding that Randolph did not, because of their English leanings, favour their return, lent themselves to an attempt on the part of Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol, to recover the kingdom. The English king, Edward III., while pretending to discountenance this movement, really encouraged it, for he saw in it something that might turn out to his own advantage.

The Scottish Regent, while on his way to meet the advancing force, died at Musselburgh (20th July 1332), and Donald, Earl of Mar, was appointed in his place. The

new Regent was unfitted for his high office, and giving battle to Baliol at Dupplin Moor, he was defeated and slain. Most of his followers met the same fate, and Baliol, now regarding himself as victorious, was crowned king, and on 23rd November established himself at Roxburgh, where he formally recognised Edward III. as his lord and master. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, the son of Wallace's old friend and brother-in-arms, was chosen Regent, and Randolph's second son, now Earl of Moray, and Archibald Douglas collecting a force, surprised Baliol at Annan, and slew his younger brother, the usurper himself escaping half naked across the Border. In the following year Baliol returned to the attack, and the Scots marched to Berwick with the object of taking it. They met with misfortune at the start. Sir Andrew Moray, the Regent, and Sir William Douglas, Knight of Liddesdale, the two chief leaders, were captured, and on Edward coming to Baliol's aid, the new Regent, Sir Archibald Douglas, found that Berwick could not be relieved without first fighting the English in the open. The two armies met at Halidon Hill (19th July 1333) and there the Scots suffered a heavy defeat. The English archers again did their work effectually, and the Scots, forgetting the tactics of Bruce, rushed up the hill where the English army was posted. A treacherous marsh intervened, in which they sank, thus becoming an easy prey to the enemy. The Regent, six earls, and many of their followers were slain.

The country was now considered to be unsafe for the king, and he and his queen were sent to France (1334). Baliol and Edward divided the country between them, Baliol acknowledging the English king as Lord Paramount. A reaction, however, set in; the 'disinherited' barons quarrelled among themselves, Sir Andrew Moray returned from England, and the Earl of Moray from France, whose king was willing to aid Scotland. The country took new heart, a fresh spirit animated the people, and Baliol found his position so insecure that he had to

summon Edward to his aid. The Scots, remembering good King Robert's Testament, laid bare the country, and the English king and his army were forced by starvation to retrace their steps. The exploits of Sir Andrew Moray, Alexander Ramsay, and the Knight of Liddesdale divide the honours with those of Bruce and Randolph, and the Good Sir James's own achievements. Fortune smiled on the Scots in this respect, that Edward had bigger game on hand, for he now laid claim to the throne of France and began the Hundred Years' War. The country was cleared of invaders, and the castle of Dunbar besieged by the English under Lord Salisbury (1338) remained impregnable, thanks to Black Agnes, so called from her dark visage, who had inherited the courage of her father Randolph, Earl of Moray, Bruce's friend. For nineteen weeks, with the aid of Sir Alexander Ramsay, she withstood the siege and drove the invaders from the castle walls.

Sir Andrew Moray having died, Robert, the Steward of Scotland, was appointed Regent. He took Perth, other strongholds were captured, and the country was deemed safe enough for the return of the king and queen. Whatever hopes may have centred in the reign that now began were doomed to disappointment. In appearance David was handsome, in nature jovial, but in character rash and imprudent. He was not long in the country until he gave proof of his incapacity as a ruler, for in 1346 he made an attack upon England. Edward was at Calais prosecuting his war against the French, but the interests of his country were safe in the hands of his lieutenants, three of whom, Ralph Neville, Henry Percy and the Archbishop of York, gathering a force, met and defeated the Scots at Neville's Cross near Durham (17th October). David and some of his chief followers were taken prisoners. The Scottish monarch was not allowed to return to his own country until the expiry of eleven years. He does not seem to have been much missed; Robert the Steward acted in his stead.

A scourge, even more dreadful than that of war, now visited Scotland. In 1350 the 'Black Death' made its appearance, and cut off a third of the people. Four years afterwards negotiations were pending between Scotland and England for the release of David. The French king, however, intervened, and sending an army and money to Scotland, persuaded the Scots to break off negotiations and invade England. This roused the wrath of the English monarch who, the following year (1356), entered Scotland, received the crown from Baliol, and regarding himself as king, called upon the nobility to give in their submission to him at Roxburgh. The Scots having failed to appear, Edward took a terrible revenge; he burned every town and hamlet within his reach. Among the sacred edifices which suffered from his devastations was the great church at Haddington, called from its beauty the 'Lamp of Lothian.' David, eager to get back to his own country, was ready to barter it for freedom, and at last, in October 1357, a treaty was entered into at Berwick by which his liberty was restored to him. The conditions were heavy; a hundred thousand marks were to be paid to England in ten yearly instalments, and hostages were to be given as a surety for good faith. The very same year in which he regained his freedom, David held a Parliament at Scone to consider ways and means for the payment of this heavy burden. Four proposals were agreed to; the king was to buy up all the wool in the country at four marks for every sack; the great customs were to be raised to twice their amount; all the crown properties that had been alienated were to be resumed; and all rents and lands were to be revalued in view of fresh taxation. Notwithstanding these devices, only half the amount was paid at David's death.

The country found the position to be growing intolerable, and the king's own habits and extravagances aggravated the evil. Many of the leading men were ready to revolt, and one of them, the Earl of Douglas, who gained the support of Robert the Steward and the Earl of March,

did rise in rebellion (1363). The king, however, quickly put down the revolt, for he surprised Douglas at Lanark and secured his submission. In order to get quit of this heavy burden and to appease the restlessness that was spreading over the country, the king did a most unpatriotic thing : one can hardly conceive the son of the great Bruce proposing it. He made a secret treaty with Edward that should he, the Scottish king, die without an heir, the English king was to succeed him. David had the audacity to moot this proposal to his Parliament and, to their honour be it said, they indignantly refused to entertain it. One other act, and the last in David's inglorious career, has to be recorded. His wife, Joanna of England, having died, he entered into a foolish marriage with Margaret Logie, the aunt of Annabella Drummond, queen of Robert III. That she did not add to his happiness may be seen from the fact that he divorced her. She made a successful appeal to the Pope to have the divorce annulled, but before the news reached Scotland, David was dead. (22nd February 1371).

It may not be amiss to pause at this stage in the narrative, and cast our eye over Scotland to see, if possible, what may have been the condition of the nation in its political and social aspects. There is at this point a natural break in the line of Scottish kings, for with David's successor a new house was to mount the throne, that of the Stewarts. It is difficult, of course, to give as full a description as might be desired of the state of national affairs, for the records are meagre, but recent research enables us to form a fair idea of matters as they then stood. For one thing, it can be seen that Scotland was still free. The War of Independence had consolidated the nation, and given it that unity, stability and self-respect which even the reign of David could not destroy. It may be perfectly true that the repeated invasions on the part of England which took place during the period rendered progress

in commerce and in the arts practically impossible, and the constant drain upon the resources of the nation in equipping armies to resist the invader or to make reprisals, and the heavy ransom that had to be paid for the king's freedom impoverished the country. It is sad to reflect that at the close of the reign of Alexander III. Scotland, in all that makes a nation, was greater than it was when David II. died. It had, as has been remarked, a dynasty of centuries' standing, a national church, a national council, and national laws, and towns bound together in a confederacy based on a national policy. All these fortunately remained, though in a sorely crippled condition; but in this respect, it is maintained, the condition of Scotland during the fourteenth century was no worse than that of neighbouring countries. In any case, the national spirit was still unbroken, and only time and opportunity were required for those developments which in due time took place.

The spirit of freedom and of national responsibility, sealed by the victory of Bannockburn, and embodied by Bruce (1326) in the Parliament of the country when he admitted into the National Assembly representatives of the burghs, received further recognition during the reign of David II. The Scottish people were visibly growing in self-consciousness, and acquiring that place in the government of the country which is only conceded to a nation that is capable of governing itself. Parliament in David's reign invaded the royal prerogative, and took steps towards the creation of a limited monarchy. It regulated the coinage and currency, settled terms of peace and war, controlled the revenue and even the monarch's own personal expenses. Against this, however, has to be set the creation of two committees, the 'Committee of Articles' and the 'Committee of Causes,' which in time usurped the prerogative of a free Assembly and became packed bodies, whose members were chiefly nominees of the crown. The reason for the creation of these Committees lay in the fact that the freeholders who were members of the National

Assembly found difficulty in attending its meetings, owing to the distance of the place of meeting, or the expense, or other causes. All the same, they sacrificed their privileges, and allowed the affairs of the nation to pass once more into the hands of the nobles, and thus gave them power which had again, after much trouble and bloodshed, to be wrested from them.

If this much is known of the political changes and progress of the time, something also of a reliable nature can fortunately be told of its social condition. Froissart, a French writer, who spent six months in Scotland during the reign of David II., has something to tell of the social life of the people. He is certainly not impressed by the size and importance of the towns, for Edinburgh, which was then the capital, he says, had only four hundred houses, and these were of such a temporary nature that the Scots boasted of being able to build them in three days. Selecting five or six stakes, a Scottish carpenter in those days fixed them in the ground at a given distance from each other, joined them at the top, covered them with boughs, and there he had a house all ready. Such a method of architecture and house-building was the offspring of the exigencies of the times. With the probability of English marauders, and even armies, devastating the country, it would have been folly for the Scots to have spent much time or money in building or furnishing their houses. Besides, as their practice was, when an English invasion was imminent, to destroy everything and then take to flight, leaving a barren desert before the invader, it would have been folly to have constructed dwelling-houses of a permanent nature. But though the abodes of the peasantry were flimsy, they themselves in physique and character would seem to have been sturdy enough, for the French soldiers who at one time or another about this period came over to assist the Scots against the English were surprised to find that the peasants resented their marching through their corn-fields, and particularly astonished when they showed their resentment in hard

knocks. It was not so in France, where the peasants had to submit without redress. The Scots were of a different temper, and they made the stay of their French allies so uncomfortable and even dangerous, as to cause them to hasten their departure. It was the descendants of these same peasants and freeholders who in after years rallied round John Knox and secured the second great victory in the struggle for national freedom.

Scotland was late in flowering into song, and even when a singer did appear his notes were not of the sweetest or richest. The poverty of the country must account for this. The struggle for existence was severe. The nation was never at peace; an English army was never far from the Border; and each year told almost the same story of invasion, devastation and burning. Neither art nor commerce could flourish under such conditions, and yet poetry did find a voice as early as the reign of Alexander III., and although only a brief snatch of verse is all that remains to us of the poem that celebrates that monarch's reign, the quality is such that one may entertain the fancy that, if the progress and prosperity of the country had continued to flourish under the reign of Alexander's successors, Scotland might have boasted of a Chaucer of its own. But the troubles that followed gave no opportunity to the Scottish Makaris to show their skill. Here is the lament on the death of Alexander, preserved by Wyntoun. It is the oldest example of the Scottish vernacular that exists :

‘Quhen Alysandyr oure Kyng wes dede,
That Scotland led in luv and le,
Away wes sons off ale and brede,
Off wyne and wax, off gamyn and gle;
Oure gold was changyd into lede.
Cryst, borne in to Virgynyte,
Succoure Scotland and remede,
That stad is in pirplexyte.’

About the same period as this unknown poet there

flourished Thomas of Erceldoune or Earlston (d. 1294). There is much uncertainty about him and his work, which was chiefly in the form of prophesying, as the title of one of his chief efforts, the *Romance and Prophecies*, indicates. Following him comes one who is held by competent judges to have been the greatest Scottish poet, not only of his time, but of succeeding generations. He is more mysterious than even the famed Thomas. He is known by the name of 'Huchown of the Awle Ryale' and is identified by experts with Sir Hew of Eglinton. He flourished about the year 1350, and among other poems wrote the *Pystyll of Swete Susane*. We come now to one who is the best known poet of the period, John Barbour (1316-96). His great poem was *The Brus*, which is regarded as Scotland's National Epic (1376). To it we are indebted for those incidents in the life of King Robert and those traits in his character which have made him Scotland's hero. Barbour has his limitations, but much must be forgiven him for his enthusiastic portrayal of the character of Bruce and his glowing descriptions of his battles, and chiefly of that of Bannockburn, where he is at his best. Andrew of Wyntoun, Prior of St Serf's Inch in Loch-Leven (1395), wrote a long poem to which he gave the title *Orygynale Chronykel* (1424). The first part is full of fables, but when he comes to his own time we cannot afford to neglect him. His poem is a rhyming narrative, and seldom rises to an exalted strain. As in other nations so in Scotland, verse preceded prose. It was not till 1385, when John Fordoun wrote his *Scotichronicon* in bad Latin, that Scotland could boast of a prose writer, nor was it until half a century later that vernacular prose was written; at all events the oldest extant specimens preserved are of the first quarter of the fifteenth century (1424), and consist of certain letters and entries in the Statute-book.

CHAPTER XVII

ROBERT II., 1371-1390—ROBERT III., 1390-1406

THE first king of the house of Stewart, Robert II., was the nephew of his predecessor David I., his mother being Marjory, daughter of Robert the Bruce. The succession was established by an Act of Parliament of the year 1318, and, apart from a futile attempt by the Earl of Douglas to dispute his accession, the crowning of Robert, which took place at Scone on 26th March 1371, would seem to have met with the goodwill of the nation. It was in his reign that the contest began between the crown and the barons, which continued with varying fortune until the fatal field of Flodden, when peace was secured by the slaughter of most of the leading nobles of the land. It was a lawless period on which we now enter, so far at least as the chief men in the country were concerned, and the king, who was in his fifty-fifth year when he began to rule, would seem to have preferred to live at ease in Zion. He was physically courageous enough, as his early life proved, but he was not the man to cope with the special difficulties of the times. It can be said for him, however, that he showed no signs of selling the country to England, and that his good nature and even tenderness of heart commended him to the people. Nor was the country in the miserable condition which one might infer from its unsettled state; the land was fairly well cultivated and the people not without prosperity.

Robert was the fifth in descent from Fitz-Alan, the first High Steward of Scotland, a Norman soldier who came into the country with David I. Robert married twice, and, as he lived with his first wife before he was lawfully wedded to her, the strain of illegitimacy

is held by purists to run right through the Stewart line. The king had a large family of sons and daughters, legitimate and natural, and of the former three sons deserve mention: John, Earl of Carrick, who succeeded his father as Robert III., Robert, Earl of Fife, afterwards Duke of Albany, and Alexander, the Wolf of Badenoch.

Notwithstanding the truce of fourteen years that existed between the two countries, the Scottish barons made incessant incursions into England, and succeeded in driving out of Annandale and Teviotdale any English who still remained, and so gradually regained possession of the lands in those districts. Even sea-fights were not unknown, for one Andrew Mercer, gathering together a fleet of vessels belonging to his own and other countries, seized and plundered Scarborough, only to be in turn attacked by Philpot, a London merchant, who captured him and his whole fleet. The English king retaliated, and sent John of Gaunt with an offer of peace or war. Robert chose the former alternative, and a three years' truce was entered into (1380). Some four years afterwards the Scots expressed a desire to share in a treaty of peace that was being negotiated between the French and English (1384), but the English were desirous of retrieving some of the losses to which they had been subjected by the Scots before the treaty could be sealed. John of Gaunt was again the commander of the English expedition, and, being friendly with the Scots, he did little damage. About the same time as the arrival of the French embassy (1384), there landed at Montrose thirty French knights with their squires, who were anxious to take part in one of those Border raids, the fame of which had crossed the Channel. The Scottish nobles, nothing loth, gladly fell in with their views, and penetrating into England returned with booty which more than satisfied the appetite of their French friends, who declared that what they had seen and taken outweighed the whole of the wealth of Scotland. All this was done unknown to King

Robert, who apologised to the English nobles, but they, especially the two Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, whose lands had been chiefly ravaged, retaliated and took severe vengeance on the Scots for the damage they had done.

It would almost seem that Border raids during this period had become a pastime to the Scottish barons, and their French friends having notified their compatriots of the good sport that they had participated in, it was arranged that a larger contingent should land in Scotland. Accordingly, in 1385, Sir John de Vienne, the Admiral of France, crossed over with 2000 men, 1400 suits of armour, and 50,000 francs to assist the Scots against the English. A large army marched to the Border, and Richard, hearing of the impending attack, collected a force to intercept it. The Scots, however, avoided him, and marched to England by a different route. Richard, supported by a fleet, penetrated as far as Dundee, burning that town and Edinburgh and Perth as well ; the fair Abbey of Melrose was also given to the flames. The French were astonished and disgusted at the Scots not giving the English battle, and even the booty which was taken did not appease them. They had come over to see war on a large scale, and what they witnessed was only a Border raid. They could not enter into the spirit of those forays, which to the Scottish and English seemed to be so many jousts and tournaments of a rather more serious order, and the dissatisfaction on both sides broke out into open quarrel. The French were disgusted at their treatment, the accommodation provided for them was of the most primitive order, and their food the simplest, if not the scantiest. The Scots, again, resented the extravagances of their French allies, and grudged their sustenance. Even the peasants vented their hatred upon those whom they ought to have entertained as guests, and, for the damage done to their crops or for other reasons, slew, it is said, as many as a hundred. The French were glad to be gone, but the Scots refused to let

them leave until they paid the expenses of their maintenance, and it was not until Sir John de Vienne made the debt his own that they were permitted to depart. The two peoples, who had so often been allies, and between whom a close friendship was still to exist for many years, would seem, like some other friends, to have agreed better when apart.

An event, which was, of course, a battle, commemorated in one of the most famous of our ancient ballads, falls now to be described. The Scottish nobles met at Aberdeen in the year 1388, and made a compact, unknown to the king, to harry England. They crossed the Border in two detachments, the Earl of Fife marching by the west, and the Earl of Douglas with the second contingent entering England by the east. Their purpose was to avenge the invasion of Richard. Douglas's army came into touch with the English under Lord Percy, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, whose fiery temper gained for him the nickname of Hotspur. Douglas was returning home, carrying with him the pennon of Lord Percy, boasting that he would fix it on the castle of Dalkeith. Percy replied that that he would never do. 'You will have to come and take it, then,' said Douglas. The Scottish earl on his return march stopped at Otterburn, about twenty miles from the Border, and after nightfall the cry arose that the English were on them; so, on a clear moonlight night, there took place one of the most chivalrous and keenly contested fights in the annals of Border warfare. It was a hand-to-hand struggle, and so closely did the combatants engage in it, that the English archers were afraid to shoot in case they might slay their own men. The English were three to one, and were pressing the Scots hard, when Douglas, with his great two-handed sword, which no other than himself could wield, hewed a path through the opposing ranks to victory, to glory, and to death, for he fell wounded, having been pierced by three lance-points on shoulder, breast and thigh. Borne to earth, he was asked by

his cousin, Sir John Sinclair, 'How is it with you?' and he answered, 'Ill, but few of my fathers died in their beds. Raise my banner, cry "Douglas," and tell not where I am to friend or foe.' His banner was raised, the Scots gathered to the cry of 'A Douglas, A Douglas,' and won the day. The hero of this fight was buried in Melrose Abbey and his banner was hung over his tomb. So was fought the battle of Otterburn or Chevy Chase, the origin of our most famous ballad. Sir Walter Scott when at the point of death quoted from it the lines :

'My wound is deep—I fain would sleep—
Take thou the van-guard of the three,
And bury me by the bracken bush
That grows on yonder lily lea.'

Robert II. was now so old and infirm that he was both unable and unwilling to manage actively the affairs of the country, and as his eldest son was equally unfit to govern with that vigour which the times demanded, his third surviving son, Robert, Earl of Fife, was appointed Regent (1389). Two years after this Robert himself died at his castle of Dundonald in Ayrshire. He had reached his seventy-fourth year. In more peaceful times he might have made an acceptable monarch, for he is declared by a contemporary to have had a tender heart, but with the nobles arrogating to themselves the rights of princes, defying the crown, and quarrelling among each other, a stronger and even rougher hand than his was required to keep them under due control.

John, Earl of Carrick, the late king's eldest son, succeeded his father (1390), but John being a name of ill-omen, he ascended the throne under the title of Robert III. He was kingly in appearance, tall, stately, with a long, white, venerable beard, which marked him out as the father of his people, but he was sickly in body and weak in character, and even less capable than his father of ruling in such a

rough time. His brother Robert, the Earl of Fife, who was the strong man of the family, was continued as Guardian, and he was the virtual ruler of Scotland during Robert's reign. The lawlessness of the country is seen in the frequent and violent outbreaks of the nobles, and the weakness of the crown is shown in its inability to bring the desperadoes to justice, and to mete out to them well-deserved punishment. One of the chief offenders was the king's own brother Alexander, who from his savage nature earned the cognomen of the Wolf of Badenoch. He ruled the district in and around Loch-an-eilan in Inverness-shire, where he had his castle, in a way which would have struck terror into the barons that troubled the peace of his brother the king, had the king possessed the same masterful qualities. He brought upon himself the righteous anger of the Bishop of Moray by robbing that ecclesiastical dignitary of some of his lands, and having been excommunicated for his misdeeds, he retaliated by collecting a band of Highland caterans, marching with them to the bishop's cathedral at Elgin, desecrating the sacred building by giving the beautiful structure to the flames. All the punishment that he received or could be inflicted upon him was his being compelled to appear in a church at Perth and do penance. The Wolf, like his father before him, had illegitimate sons who inherited his own lawless spirit, for they, two years later (1392), collecting a fresh body of caterans, overran the district of Angus, and defeated Sir Walter Ogilvy, the sheriff of the district.

The Highlands would appear to have been in a very disordered state, and fighting between the different clans was no doubt as common as the Border raids of which we hear so much. In any case, in the year 1396 the veil is lifted for a little, and we get a full view of the fierce spirit which dominated those northern tribes. A quarrel, probably of long standing, between the clans Chattan and Kay, was fought out in a fashion which ought to have given the utmost satisfaction to the most ardent champions

of that form of chivalry which adorned the age. It was proposed that thirty men should be selected from each of the two clans, and that these champions should fight out their quarrel to the death. The proposal was agreed to, the North Inch of Perth was chosen as the field of battle, and the stalwart combatants met, and in the presence of a great concourse, including the king and the chief nobles, hacked each other to death. Eleven of the clan Kay survived this ordeal by battle, and only one of the clan Chattan escaped, but in a sorely maimed condition. Before the fight began it was found that one of the clan Kay was wanting. His place was taken by Henry Gow, or Hal o' the Wynd, a smith, who is one of the chief characters in Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. The entire incident, savage in its inception, character, and results, is a sad reflection on the times, but when the arm of the law was weak some method had to be adopted for securing peace. In this respect the ordeal by combat was not altogether ineffective, for the Highlands would seem to have had rest for a time.

The king's son, Prince David, who had now reached manhood, was created Duke of Rothesay, while his uncle Robert had the title conferred upon him of Duke of Albany (1398). These were the first dukedoms created in Scotland. Young Rothesay had ability and spirit, and, backed up by his mother and the Bishop of St Andrews, he began to assert himself against Albany. His efforts were successful, for in 1399 he displaced his uncle as Guardian of Scotland. All might have gone well with the young prince if he had acted with ordinary prudence. He had an attractive personality, but he was deficient in true character. His first great blunder was jilting the daughter of the Earl of March, to whom he was betrothed, in favour of the Earl of Douglas's daughter, who had a larger dowry. March immediately repaired to England and secured the interest of Henry iv., to whom he was related. The English monarch invaded Scotland,

besieged Edinburgh, which was gallantly defended by Rothesay, Albany being stationed some distance off on Calder Moor with a considerable force. No battle, however, took place, and, trouble springing up in Wales, Henry had to hurry south, having been in Scotland only fifteen days. This was the last occasion on which an English king marched at the head of an army into Scotland.

Rothesay by his reckless folly was creating fresh enemies, and the resentment of Albany, which was smouldering, soon burst out, to the young prince's undoing. Rothesay in a weak moment marched upon the castle of St Andrews to seize it. He was captured on the way by Albany, who had a warrant from the king, and taken to Falkland castle, where he shortly afterwards died (1402). Dark suspicion rests upon Albany, but he was officially cleared of any criminal action, and the poor king must have known that in thus whitewashing his brother's character he was in all likelihood condoning the murderer of his own son.

The renegade Earl of March was proving himself to be, by frequent incursions, the inveterate enemy of his own country, and the Scots retaliated by making two raids (1402), in both of which they were worsted. In the first they encountered the English at Nesbit Moor, and in the second at Homildon Hill. In the second engagement the English archers shot them down, and among the captured were Douglas and Murdoch, Albany's son. Percy with his followers then invested Cocklaws (1403), which was held by the Scots. His object evidently was to draw the Regent towards this place that he himself might be free to join in the insurrection, which was finally put down by Henry IV. at the battle of Shrewsbury. Percy enlisted the support of Douglas in this enterprise and both fought gallantly, though without success.

Robert III. was now old and infirm, and the death of his son left Albany free to govern the country uncontrolled, and a final catastrophe to the king made the duke complete master of the country. This was the

capture of James, Robert's younger son, a lad of twelve, by the English (1406). The king sent him to France, for what reason is not quite known, and the vessel in which he sailed was seized and the prince was taken prisoner to England, where he remained for the next eighteen years. Robert was in Bute when the sad news reached him, and repairing to Dundonald, he died at his castle there in the following month (4th April).



CHAPTER XVIII

JAMES I., 1406-1437—REGENCY OF ALBANY, 1406-1424

THE Estates met in the following June, 1406, and declared James to be king, but as he was only a youth and a captive in England, a Regent had to be appointed. This was, of course, Albany. He courted and secured popularity by refusing to levy taxation, but at the same time he managed to look after his own interests, and, for the times, was rich. Border raids were taken part in, though the two countries were at peace, and Albany himself headed a very formidable one, so far as the number of his followers is concerned. But he returned without accomplishing anything, and from its fatuity the expedition was nicknamed the 'Foul Raid' (1416).

Three important events marked his regency. The first of these was the burning of John Resby, an English priest (1407). Signs of discontent with the Roman Church were beginning to appear in different countries. The lives of its clergy, especially of the Friars, who covered the land like flocks of locusts, were beginning to smell anything but sweetly in the nostrils of pious and sensible people. Envious eyes were also beginning to be cast upon the property of the Church, and a cloud, no bigger at first than a man's hand, was appearing on the horizon, which, within a century almost, was to grow into measureless size, and to burst upon the ecclesiastical and feudal systems of the Middle Ages in such a deluge as to submerge them both. England had already led the way under the leadership of John Wycliff, whose translation of the Bible into the tongue of the people, and whose criticism of many of the doctrines and much of the practice of the Roman Church, earned for

him the title of the Morning Star of the Reformation. England also led the way in the burning of heretics, for one Sawtry had perished in the flames as early as 1401. Albany was a pronouncedly orthodox son of the Church, and he lent a willing hand in the extermination of heretics, so when John Resby was brought to trial he did not need to look for any protection from the Regent. The martyr was charged on forty counts, two of which only have come down to us. He declared that the Pope was not really the Vicar of Christ, and that no one could be Pope without being personally holy. The great schism which had taken place in the Church no doubt accounted for Resby's opinions on these points, for there were two or three claimants at the time to the throne of St Peter, and one of them at least, as all the world knew, was a flagrant transgressor. The system, however corrupt its exponents might be, must be defended at all hazards, so Resby was brought to Perth and burned.

The second event of outstanding importance which marked the regency of Albany was the battle of Harlaw (1411). Some historians place this battle on an equal footing with that of Carham, others see in it an event second only in national importance to that of Bannockburn. It is impossible to agree altogether with either view : Harlaw no doubt has its significance, but it is local rather than national. The aggressor was Donald, Lord of the Isles, who in virtue of the rights of his wife, a daughter of Robert II., claimed the earldom of Ross which Albany had given to his own son John, Earl of Buchan. And it was to make good his claim that Donald marshalled his Highland hosts at Ardtornish in Morven, and led them across Scotland to Inverness, which he took, defeating the Mackays on the way. There probably never was in Scottish history such a gathering of the clans ; the Western Isles contributed their thousands, and the Celts of the mainland joined them on the march. Those who see in this enterprise on

the part of Donald a bold attempt to conquer Lowland Scotland and bring the whole country afresh under the rule of the Celts miss the mark. They forget that the people of Scotland, both Highland and Lowland, were by this time a mixed race. The fastnesses of the northern and western counties undoubtedly cut off their inhabitants, during the years that had intervened from the reign of Robert the Bruce, from the influence of the Lowlands. It cannot in truth be said that that influence would have made for good government and peace, for never were the Scottish nobles less amenable to law, and never was the ruling power more despised and less effective. The Lord of the Isles, like the more powerful barons of the south, was a law to himself, and having a freer hand, he had made his position more independent of the crown than any of them. The Highlanders, especially those of the west, had shared in the glory of Bannockburn, and if in the interval their leading men, such as Donald, intrigued with the English king, it was no more than some of their brethren in the south, both then and afterwards, freely did. The truth would seem to be that the Lord of the Isles simply desired to gain the earldom of Ross, and he saw that the only way in which he could succeed was by using force.

His triumphant march, however, was suddenly stopped by the appearance at Harlaw, some eighteen miles from Aberdeen, of the Earl of Mar, a son of the Wolf of Badenoch, with a following of armour-clad knights and burgesses, chiefly, no doubt, of Aberdeen, which Donald hoped to sack. This Earl of Mar was of a bolder and fiercer spirit than even his famous father, and his career at home and abroad forms one of the most romantic episodes in Scottish history. The battle was long remembered as one of the hardest fought that ever took place on Scottish soil. The men of the Western Isles surrounded Mar's army like a sea, and threatened to overwhelm it. Mar put his steel-clad men in the front, and their armour protected them from the attack of the Highlanders, who attempted

to carry all before them with their wonted fury. Night put an end to the fight and slaughter, and by the morning Donald and his men had gone. On the field there were few survivors, and from the great number that fell in the fight the struggle was ever afterwards known as Red Harlaw. Albany followed up the advantage thus gained, and a peace was patched up between him and the warlike Donald.

It is a pleasure to turn from such a scene of carnage to the sequestered cloisters of the first Scottish University. So early as the year 1410 lectures were delivered in St Andrews, but it was not till the 3rd of February 1413-14 that Alexander Ogilvy returned from Rome with the Pope's Bull founding the University of that ancient city. Education previous to this, as we have seen, had not been neglected in Scotland; there were schools in connection with the cathedrals and abbeys, but youths who wished to pursue their studies still further had to go to the English universities or to those of the Continent. The University of Paris, then the largest and most famous of all, was specially favoured by Scottish students, and nearly a hundred years previous to this (1326) the Bishop of Moray founded the Scots College at Paris, thus providing his fellow-countrymen with the means of education, which were eagerly and largely taken advantage of. The lack of a university within the confines of their own country must have been sorely felt by Scotsmen, and it is to the credit of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, that he met this want by founding the University of St Andrews, the most ancient of Scotland's seats of learning. It was a day of great rejoicing in the ancient city when the papal Bull was read in the refectory in the presence of the bishop and a large concourse of ecclesiastics. 'A procession, in which four hundred of the clergy joined, moved up the long nave of the cathedral to the altar; *Te Deum* was sung; high mass was celebrated; and the day was concluded with bonfires, the ringing of bells and universal festivities. It was fitting that thanks should be given to God, and that gladness should abound

among the people, for science had now found a resting-place in the land.'

One or two of the Scottish strongholds, such as Roxburgh and Berwick, still remained in the hands of the English, and although peace prevailed between the two countries, so far as actual fighting on the Borders was concerned, the Scots saw in an invitation which came to them from France a chance of attacking the English, so to speak, from the rear. They were asked to send over a contingent to assist their old allies in their war against the English monarch, Henry v. The Scots readily responded, and seven thousand of them, with Albany's son John, Earl of Buchan, at their head, soon landed on French soil. The Scots now found themselves as unpopular in France as the French had been in Scotland. They were nicknamed 'tugmuttons,' and 'wine-bags,' and Henry v. railed at them as a 'cursed people the Scots, wherever I go I always find them in my beard.' Be that as it may, they rendered valuable service to the French, and covered themselves with glory at the battle of Baugé (1421), but in a subsequent engagement they were all but annihilated; what remained of them, however, followed the white banner of the Maid of Orleans, and afterwards formed the famous Scots Guard of the French king.

Albany's eldest son Murdoch was also a captive in England, and negotiations for his release had been going on for years. They at last proved successful, and he returned to his own country in 1415-16. The efforts for the release of the Scottish king were not so successful, and James was forced to linger in captivity for other eight years. Letters which he wrote to his uncle Albany, and which would seem to have remained unanswered, show how eager he was to obtain his freedom, and he might well be excused for thinking that his own efforts were but poorly backed up by the Regent. Rightly or wrongly, James would seem to have suspected his uncle of being only half-hearted in his interest, and this suspicion rankled in his

mind and governed his policy at a later date. Albany died in 1420, after having been virtual governor of the country for about fifty years. The weakness of his two predecessors may have forced him into his position, for he was the only man to whom the country could look as capable of governing. He is accused of taking advantage of his power, although contemporary chroniclers invariably speak of him with favour. In any case, he courted popularity by giving a free hand to the nobles and refraining from taxing the people. This policy bore its fruit in the subsequent reign, when James had to face a condition of national affairs which called for the most energetic action, and proved too much even for his strength. Murdoch succeeded his father as Regent, but the short period during which he held the office was enough to show his incapacity.

James at last obtained his freedom (1424). The English had found that it was for their interest to conciliate the Scots. The Scottish soldiers who had fought against the English on French soil had shown how dangerous Scotland could be when thus allied to France; besides, Henry v. was now dead, and the victory of Agincourt was being amply avenged. The tide had turned, and the danger now threatened to find its seat in England rather than in France. Hence the policy of conciliating the Scots. The king's ransom, or, as it was euphemistically termed, his expenses, was put down at the handsome figure of £40,000, £10,000 of this being deducted as the dowry of the Lady Jane Beaufort, whom James was to marry before returning to his native land. She was a daughter of the Duke of Somerset and a great-granddaughter of Edward III. She was also the milk-white dove of *The Kingis Quair*, a poem which James wrote describing his captivity, and how he first saw his wife from his prison window as she walked in the garden below :

‘The fairest and the freshest younge flower
That ere I saw me-thought before that hour.’

James entered his kingdom on the 9th April 1424. Having spent Easter in Edinburgh, he went to Scone, where he was crowned on the 21st May; he held his first Parliament five days afterwards. He was now in the thirtieth year of his age and accomplished beyond most men of the time. He was of medium height and of great physical strength. He delighted in all manly exercises, and so active and swift was he that he was popularly credited with having wings to his heels. He equalled the most perfect knight in all the accomplishments of that chivalrous age. His mental gifts, which had been carefully trained, were of equally high order. A man who could write such a remarkable and beautiful poem as *The Kingis Quair* was no ordinary poet, and the other pieces, such as *Peblis to the Play* and *Christis Kirk on the Green*, with which he is credited, prove that he was not only a skilled versifier, but a humourist. He had also learned war under the greatest captain of the age, Henry v. of England. He had, besides, a character equal to his accomplishments, and a determination and energy which lifted him far above his immediate predecessors, and have given him a place in Scottish history next to that of David I. and Robert the Bruce.

As events proved, he required every quality and virtue with which nature had endowed him. Indeed, the condition of the country was such as to be beyond even his strength to reform it. He certainly, however, did improve it, and had it not been for the long minority that followed his death, the mark which he made upon the country would have been more decided. He had not been long on the throne before the difficulties which he had to face presented themselves; indeed, shortly after he crossed the Border a case of cruelty and injustice was brought under his notice, which forced from him the proud and famous boast: 'God granting me life,' he exclaimed, 'I will make the key keep the castle and the furzebush the cow.' He immediately began to put national affairs into order. At his first Parlia-

ment he gave a very strong hint of the policy which he meant to pursue. It was decreed that he might summon his vassals at pleasure, and the barons were called upon to produce the charters on which they held their possessions. A tax of twelve pence in the pound was also levied to meet his ransom.

No reformer need look for popularity ; these two acts offended both the barons and the burgesses ; the former experienced difficulty in producing their charters, the latter had no desire to pay the tax. The Regent Albany had left behind him problems of government which were beyond the power of James to solve. It must be put to his credit that he not only made the attempt, but that he made it constitutionally through his Parliament, which met every year. He had not passed so long a captivity in England in vain, for he had there acquired skill not only in the arts, but in government as well, and he now strove to apply the methods which he saw at work in the southern kingdom to his own country. His first and main efforts were to break the power of the nobility, which had grown to dangerous strength under the easy rule of Albany, and he made a beginning by striking at that great house itself. He could not forgive the displacement of his father and grandfather, the death of his brother Rothesay, and his own long imprisonment in England. He acted with secrecy and promptitude. Duke Murdoch, his two sons, and his father-in-law, Lennox, were seized and tried, and executed on the Heading Hill, Stirling, the year after the king's arrival in Scotland. No record exists of the trial, and so the reasons adduced for their condemnation are unknown. The drastic act, however, did not add to James's popularity, for the people naturally favoured the family of Albany, as an easy-going and conciliatory ruler. The deed was, however, a warning to the nobles, which they took to heart ; but if open revolt was impossible, secret conspiracy, as the event too sadly proved, was well within their power.

James next directed his attention to the Highlands, and resolved to bring that lawless part of his country under the restraints of a firm government. In 1427 he held a Parliament at Inverness, to which he invited many of the Highland chiefs, among them Alexander, Lord of the Isles, son of Donald of Harlaw. He cast forty of them into prison, and others, the most dangerous, were put to death. Among those set at liberty was Alexander, who took advantage of his freedom to attack and burn Inverness (1429), but venturing to march to Lochaber, he was met by the king's forces and defeated. He now knew that the only course open to him was submission ; accordingly, on the feast of St Augustine he appeared before the court in Holyrood Church dressed only in his shirt and drawers, and on bended knee presented his sword to the king ; he was imprisoned for a time in Tantallon castle and then set at liberty.

The king's resolution to make the key keep the castle, and the furzebush the cow, was carried out in the exercise of justice on less distinguished heads. A noble on one occasion had the audacity to strike another in the face in the king's presence. James at once caused the offender to be seized, and ordering him to lay his hand on the table, commanded him who had been struck to draw his sword and cut it off. A poor woman, whose two cows had been stolen by a Highland robber, vowed that she would not take her shoes off her feet until she had laid the matter before the king. On this the Highland riever took off her shoes and nailed to her feet two horse's shoes. Strong in her determination, she appeared with her wounds before the king, who caused the robber to be seized, and the ruffian, after having been ignominiously dragged through the streets at a horse's tail to the gallows, was there hanged.

James struck once more at the nobility, and he determined to reduce their power by causing their estates to be forfeited to the Crown, although by a strictly constitutional process. By this means the possessions of the Earl

of Lennox, who had been put to death, were attached to the Crown, and those of the Earl of Strathearn, the Earl of March and the Earl of Mar were appropriated in the same way. This weakened the power of the nobles, and strengthened that of the Crown, but it also laid the seeds of discontent and rebellion.

The king directed his attention at the same time to the Church, which had been waxing fat and lazy. In a letter to the heads of monasteries he gave fair warning, that unless the poor were better attended to, and the lives of abbots and monks amended, the dangers that were even then threatening the Church would not be averted by him. If they took his warning to heart, however, he would defend them, and to show that he was a loyal son of the Church he built a beautiful Carthusian convent at Perth, and gave his consent to the burning of Paul Craw or Crawar (1433), who had come from Bohemia preaching the doctrines of Wycliff. This was the second burning that had taken place in Scotland, the first having been that of John Resby.

An event which at the time pleased both the king and the people of Scotland was the betrothal of James's daughter, the young Princess Margaret, to the Dauphin of France, afterwards Louis XI.; but had they been able to foresee the cruel treatment which she was to receive from her husband, they might have hesitated, and reserved her for a more happy fate. She had inherited the genius of her father, was herself a poetess and a friend of poets, but her early death prevented her from doing more than giving a promise of what she might have accomplished. Although at the time there was a truce between Scotland and England, English vessels tried to intercept the princess on her voyage to France, and it was only by an accident that she escaped. This unkindly act roused the wrath of James, for it called to his memory what had happened to himself under similar circumstances. He never loved England, and the French alliance, which was thus strengthened by the marriage of his daughter to the Dauphin, stirred in turn the jealousy

of the southern kingdom, and created afresh those feelings of enmity which for a time had been in abeyance. Nothing serious in the way of conflict took place, although James led a large army (1436) to the English Border. He laid siege to the castle of Roxburgh, but effected nothing, and returned after fifteen days, without glory.

The vigorous reign of the Scottish king was now about to come to an end. His efforts to break the power of the nobility and to bring peace into his country, while outwardly successful, fomented passions which only needed an opportunity to break loose. A conspiracy was formed against him, the head and front of which was Sir Robert Graham, whom James had imprisoned during the first year of his reign, and afterwards banished because of his violent and outspoken attacks on the king himself. Graham bore a grudge against James for having forfeited the estates of his young nephew, the Earl of Strathearn. He was obsessed by the idea that James was a tyrant, and was prepared to run any and every risk in disposing of him. The king's enemies had secretly put forward the Earl of Atholl as the rightful heir to the crown. He was a grandson of Robert II. by his second wife, Euphemia Ross, and in the eyes of some he was the legal heir, for the children of the first wife, from whom James was descended, were held to be illegitimate. Atholl himself had received much kindness from James, and was appointed by him Justiciar of the North. He was now approaching seventy years of age, and while he knew of the plot does not seem to have taken any active part in it. His grandson, however, Sir Robert Stewart, the king's Private Chamberlain, played the traitor, and was the active agent in James's assassination.

James had arranged to spend the Christmas of 1436 at Perth, and the castle being in a state of disrepair, the court occupied the Blackfriars' monastery. It is said that at the Water of Leith, on his way from Holyrood, a Highland woman met him, and said that if he did cross the Firth of Forth he would never come back. The king disregarded

the warning, which was to be repeated the night of the murder. It was evidently given by one who knew what was going to take place, and who wished to save the king. Sir Robert Stewart had made everything ready, by laying planks across the moat that surrounded the monastery, and by picking the locks of the doors. Late on a February night (1437) Graham and his band appeared at Perth, and made their way to the monastery. The king and his courtiers had passed a pleasant evening, and just as he was on the point of retiring for the night the king heard a noise and saw the gleam of torches. There was no possibility of escape, and although the queen and other ladies were in the chamber, one of whom, Catherine Douglas, is said to have barred the door with her arm, the conspirators broke in. The king had just time to hide himself in a closet or, as some writers aver, in a vault below the floor. He was quite unarmed. At first, by his great physical strength, he was able to defend himself, and throw those who attacked him to the floor, but on others appearing, chief among them Graham himself, resistance was in vain. In a few moments the king was overpowered and stabbed to death.

The queen was wounded in the struggle, and it would have been better for the conspirators if her wound had proved fatal, for with remarkable and unexpected energy she organised a pursuit of the rebels which soon overtook them. Within a month Atholl, Sir Robert Graham, and the others who had taken part in the king's murder were seized and put to death. The manner of their execution showed the barbarity of the age, and the deep anger and grief of the queen and the Government at the king's death. They were subjected to frightful tortures. Even the aged Atholl was not spared the cruelty and shame to which others of lesser rank might have been subjected without creating any resentment. Indeed, he was regarded by the royal family as the head and front of the conspiracy. He did not, it is true, appear as the leader, but he was believed to have inspired those

who committed the deed. It is alleged that it was at his instigation the family of Albany were put to death, for he is charged with entertaining the hope that if the members of that house, and then the king himself, were out of his path he, as nearest to the throne, might mount it. Whatever his hopes may have been, they were doomed to cruel disappointment, and his tragic end and that of his confederates was a warning to all would-be regicides that was long remembered in Scotland.

Sir Robert Graham, in the midst of his dying agonies, justified his murder of the king on the ground that James was a tyrant, and the historian who chronicles the tragic event does not belie him. He further accuses the monarch of having been troubled with an itching palm, and of having been moved to the execution of wealthy nobles by the desire to possess their estates. Later historians, although the records are very meagre on which to base a true estimate of James's character and policy, hardly agree with his opinion, and the Scottish people have reversed it, for in their estimation James stands out as the greatest of the Stewarts, and one of the best kings and most accomplished princes Scotland has ever had. Like Hamlet, he found the times to be out of joint. After his long banishment in England, where his youth and early manhood had been spent, he returned to his native country a comparative stranger, and found a condition of matters which called for instant and strenuous action. The nobles had, under the selfish rule of Albany, grown in power and arrogance, and the king found no machinery of government by which he could restrain or subdue them. He believed that his only weapon was the strong hand, and this he used not as a tyrant, but constitutionally through his Parliament. The secrecy and suddenness of many of his actions gave them the colour of treachery, but he probably felt that by no other means could he secure the peace and welfare of the country which he had so much at heart. He might have adopted more patient and diplomatic methods, like

his son-in-law the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. of France, and achieved his ends with safety to himself. But his character evidently did not favour such methods, and the warnings which he received of impending violence to himself showed that his death was plotted by those who felt injured, long before the event itself took place. That event is what might have been expected. James was a martyr to his own policy.

Other features in the character and career of James have, in addition to his manly and vigorous reign and cruel death, given him an exalted place in the minds of the Scottish people. The romantic story of his love and courtship, enshrined by himself in beautiful and memorable verse, his long captivity in England, and his rare gifts as a poet, have caused him to be regarded with pride by succeeding generations of his countrymen. Recently, indeed, destructive literary criticism has sought to rob him of his poetic laurels. Rose after rose has been plucked from the poetic garland that encircled his kingly brow. It may be that such attempts are only specimens of the efforts which are being made on many hands to steal from the great of past ages their honours and their glory; but it has not proved fatal to the poetic reputation of the Scottish king, and the best of those works which tradition and history have attributed to him as their author may still be regarded as his.

James left his mark on the constitutional history of the country. He was evidently imbued with a love of parliamentary government, which he had seen growing into vigour in England. It was his intention to develop his own National Assembly, and to make it an equally effective instrument in the management of affairs. He reigned for thirteen years, and he held thirteen Parliaments. At one of these, which met at Perth in 1428, it was arranged that in place of all the smaller barons having to attend, two wise men should be selected from each shire, and this representative body was to choose a Speaker. The king unfortunately did

not live to see his own good intentions carried out. He also put his hand to the reform of the law and of the law-courts. He founded a system of statute law, and the court known as The Session owed its creation to him ; it was also in his reign that the laws were for the first time promulgated in the Scottish tongue. Many of the Acts that were passed dealt with social legislation, it being the desire of the monarch that the life and work of the common people should be freed from all unnecessary hindrances, and that every encouragement should be given to agriculture and trade.

CHAPTER XIX

JAMES II., 1437-1460

It is difficult to find a thread of purpose running through the reign of James II. He lived during a period of great importance in European history, when movements took place of far-reaching results, but his own country would seem to have been outwith their scope. His reign saw the end of the Hundred Years' War and the beginning of the Wars of the Roses. It was during his time that the English were finally expelled from France, and that Italy rose into prominence and notoriety under the rule of the Medici, but his own country was given over to bloody feuds and rivalries between noble houses, and the Crown itself was in danger of falling a prey to the most powerful of them. The only institution that grew in strength was the Church, and in the midst of strife and contending factions it gradually gained a power which might have been exercised for the welfare of the country, had not those corruptions begun to appear in it which in the end brought about its ruin. The people were determined to resist English aggression, until the time came when they saw that the only hope of their country's salvation lay in an alliance with the sister kingdom, which would defend them against both the Church and the nobility. Feudalism was now on its trial; its weaknesses were beginning to appear, and the rule of the barons was in a few generations to be a thing of the past. That rule was not to be broken by the Crown, but by the people themselves. Meanwhile it is the conflict between the Crown and the nobility that first demands our attention, a conflict which began with Robert II. and which reached its most acute stage in the reign that is now to be dealt with.

The murder of James I., which took place under such cruel and tragic circumstances, proved to the queen that Perth was no safe place for her and her son to live in. She accordingly went to Edinburgh, carrying the young prince with her. The Estates met on the 25th March 1437; the king was immediately crowned, the ceremony taking place not, as was the custom, at Scone, but in Holyrood Church. James's minority afforded opportunity for the rivalry of two men belonging to the lesser baronage, who had been raised into prominence by the trust imposed in them by James I. They were Sir Alexander Livingstone and Sir William Crichton. Before the king attained his majority the great house of Douglas interposed, and the earl of that time came down upon the two rivals like Jupiter Olympius, treating them as mere pawns in the political game. The Crown during all this time had little or no authority, and the men who from their position ought to have guided the affairs of the country like responsible statesmen, fought for their own hand. Bonds were formed between different nobles, and battles were fought, as if Scotland were a fitting field for fighting out on a large scale family feuds and ancient resentments. Livingstone held Stirling castle, and Crichton, who under James I. was made Master of the Royal Household and High Sheriff of Edinburgh, held its castle, of which he was Keeper. The rivals felt that he who possessed the king had the winning card. Crichton was for the time being in the ascendant. The queen and the young prince were in his keeping in the castle of Edinburgh. Fortune, however, played into Livingstone's hands. The queen, feeling herself unsafe, escaped with the young prince from Crichton's care, and placed herself under that of Livingstone in Stirling castle. It is said, although the story is doubted, that she pretended to Crichton that she wished to make a pilgrimage to Whitekirk, and that leave being granted, she concealed the prince in one of the two boxes that formed her luggage. In any case, her flight resulted in a compromise being made between the two rivals, Livingstone being allowed to keep

the king, and Crichton being made Chancellor. It was about this time (1439) that the Earl of Douglas, who was Lieutenant of the country, died. He had taken no active part in the management of affairs, and no successor to him was appointed. The queen, in order to strengthen her position, married Sir John Stewart, the Black Knight of Lorn, but Livingstone seized both the queen and her husband, put her under guard, and threw him fettered into a dungeon. A General Council which met at Stirling on the 4th of September exonerated Livingstone, and gave him the governorship of the king till he should reach his majority, granting at the same time the use of the castle to the queen.

The new Earl of Douglas was a young lad of seventeen years. He was by far the most powerful noble in Scotland. He had extensive possessions in his own country, and had inherited both a title and lands in France. He was connected by blood with many noble houses, and wielded an influence equal to that of the Crown itself. The young earl was proud and arrogant, and promised to equal the very best of his house in those qualities which are generally associated with the Douglas name. Crichton's motive in perpetrating the tragedy which is now to be told has never been clearly understood or explained. It is more than likely that he and Livingstone saw in the young earl one who, when he came to maturity, would assert himself and rob them of the position which, by precedent if not by right, belonged to his family. It may be that he had said as much; in any case, Crichton invited him to court on the pretence that the young king wished him as his companion, and, though attempts were made to dissuade him, Douglas accepted the invitation, taking with him his younger and only brother and their aged counsellor, Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld. Crichton hospitably entertained his guests, but one day at dinner he had them suddenly seized, and in spite of the entreaties and tears of the young king, who admired the earl, caused

him and his brother to be beheaded in the back court of the castle, Sir Malcolm Fleming suffering four days afterwards a similar fate. The charge on which Crichton justified his action was that of treason, but as no forfeiture of the Douglas estates took place, it is supposed that the earl's great-uncle James, surnamed the Gross from his corpulency, who succeeded him, connived at the murder. In any case, a dark stain rests on the memory of Crichton. This murder, known as the 'Black Dinner,' has been commemorated in these lines :—

'Edinburgh Castle, towne and toure,
God grant thou sink for sinne!
And that even for the black dinoir
Erl Douglas gat therein.'

The new earl lived for three years after his accession to the title, when he was succeeded by his son William (1443), who proved one of the most ambitious of all the members of that illustrious family. He was bent on breaking the power of Livingstone and Crichton. For this purpose he joined Livingstone, and they succeeded in driving Crichton out of his Chancellorship. But Crichton, as Keeper of Edinburgh Castle, was too strong to be absolutely broken, and he succeeded in making favourable terms. The sister of the murdered earl, who had inherited large estates, and who was known as the 'Fair Maid of Galloway,' was the new earl's cousin, and he, by marrying her, reunited the family possessions. He further strengthened his position by securing titles for his brothers, and at last, along with Livingstone, he entered into a league with the Earl of Crawford, who ruled in Angus and Perth like a prince. He could have had only one object in entering into this alliance, and that was to weaken or to overthrow the power of the Crown. Fortunately one man appeared at this time who redeems the policy and practice of the ruling class in Scotland during the king's minority from the obloquy that would otherwise be attached to it. That man was Kennedy,

the Bishop of St Andrews, who now also held the post of Chancellor. He clearly saw that the growing power of Douglas was a danger to the State, and he set himself to break the bond that had been formed between him and the Earl of Crawford. The earl took the initiative, and along with the Livingstones and the Ogilvies, he overran the bishop's diocese, harrying as he went. Kennedy replied by excommunicating the perpetrators of the outrage 'with mitre and staff, book and candle.' It was the weapons of the ecclesiastic that in the end prevailed. About a year after the bishop's interdict, Crawford fell, mortally wounded, in a fierce encounter at the gates of Arbroath. So terrified were his followers at the bishop's curse that none of them would bury the body, which lay for eight days, until the bishop himself sent his retainers to have it interred.

The Douglasses were making themselves prominent in the south in a series of encounters between the Scots and English. The petty warfare continued for some time with varying success, till at last, on the 23rd October 1449, at the river Sark near Gretna, the Douglasses achieved a notable victory over the English under Lord Percy. The course of national events was, however, about to take a turn, and the House of Douglas was on the eve of receiving the blow from which it never recovered; for the king, who was now in his eighteenth year, determined to take into his own hands the management of affairs. The year 1449 witnessed his marriage; on the 3rd July he was wedded to Mary of Gueldres. He began, like his father, by striking at the nobility, and the first to feel the weight of his arm were the Livingstones. The father and the two sons were seized and tried. Livingstone himself was allowed to escape to his son-in-law the Lord of the Isles, but his sons were executed (1450). James could not forget Livingstone's treatment of his mother; and his bond with the Douglas and share in the attack on Kennedy's diocese were fresh in his mind. Livingstone's rival, Crichton, was taken into the royal favour and made Chancellor.

The great struggle of the reign now began—the historic contest between the House of Stewart and the House of Douglas. James clearly saw that there was not room in Scotland both for him and for the Black Earl; one or other must give place; and so deep was his sense of the precariousness of his position that it is said he had at one time thought of leaving the country. The Douglasses were a popular family; the halo of romance that had encircled the name of the Good Sir James still clung to them. In the defence of their country against English aggression none were so brave as they; and among their laurels were the triumphs of Otterburn and Sark. Their frequent defections and disloyalty to the Crown were forgotten; what filled the popular imagination was their courage and success in war. The Stewarts had not the same record of achievement, and as for descent the royal lineage of the one house was almost on a par with that of the other. Their power, too, was about equal. It now became a question of ability, character, and skill, and the final triumph of the young king proves him to have been worthy of the position which he inherited. James may not have possessed the ability of his father, he certainly lacked his culture and poetic gifts; but he was equal to him in daring and determination, and probably excelled him in those popular qualities which win the admiration of the people. He secured the affection of his soldiers by his readiness to share their hardships, and his trust in them gained their confidence in turn.

The first move in the game was made by the king. He made it when Douglas happened to be in Rome taking part in the great Church Jubilee. Disturbances had taken place in the Douglas district, and James intervened. He marched with an army into the unsettled regions, and meted out justice. On Douglas's return a temporary reconciliation took place, but the king was suspicious of the earl's relations with England. Douglas felt himself so strong as practically to defy the king, and took upon himself to act independently of the Crown in dealing with all and

sundry within his sphere. He did not scruple to put to death any who disputed his authority, and among a number of cases that are recorded, the mention of one, which has not been seriously disputed, may suffice. Douglas was drawing together into a bond a number of his followers for the purpose of withstanding or attacking the authority of the king. Maclellan, Tutor of Bomby, declined to have anything to do with such an engagement. Douglas at once seized and imprisoned him in the strong fortress of Threave in Galloway, situated on an island in the river Dee. James took an interest in Maclellan, partly on the unfortunate man's own account, but chiefly because he was nephew of one of his own favourites, Sir Patrick Gray, the Commander of the Royal Guard. James despatched Gray with a letter to Douglas asking for Maclellan's release. Guessing the purport of the letter, Douglas invited Gray to dinner, saying it was 'ill talking between a full man and a fasting.' This he did in order that he might gain time, before reading the king's letter, to do his deed of shame, for while he was feasting Sir Patrick, he caused his unhappy kinsman to be led out and beheaded in the courtyard of the castle. When dinner was over, he opened the king's letter, and having read it said, 'The king has sent a nice letter, but I am sorry I cannot obey his commands'; and conducting Gray into the courtyard, he ordered his servants to remove the bloody cloth which covered the body. He then said, 'You have come a moment too late; there lies your sister's son, but he wants the head; the body is, however, at your service.' Gray turned away in silence, and mounting his horse he left the castle. When he got safely across the drawbridge, he turned and shook his mailed fist at Douglas, and said, 'My lord, if I live you shall bitterly pay for this day's work.' Douglas at once ordered his men to pursue him, and if Gray had not been well mounted he would in all probability have shared the fate of his nephew. He was closely followed until near Edinburgh, a distance of fifty miles.

James now recognised that the time for action had arrived, more especially as it became known that Douglas had entered into a compact with the Earl of Crawford, surnamed from his fierceness the Tiger Earl, and with the Earl of Ross, who was also Lord of the Isles. James accordingly invited Douglas to Stirling castle, granting him a safe-conduct. The earl arrived on 21st February, and met with a cordial reception. After supper on the following day the king drew Douglas aside and broached the subject of the bond, asking Douglas to break it. The earl refused; thereupon the king exclaimed in a fit of passion, 'If you will not, this will,' and struck his dagger into the neck and body of Douglas. The courtiers who were with him finished the work, Sir Patrick Gray venting his revenge by striking the earl on the head with his battle-axe. It was afterwards found that Douglas had received twenty-six wounds (1452).

James felt that his rash act stood in need of justification, and he strove to put the best face on it possible. It would have served his purpose better if he had had the Douglas tried as a traitor; the punishment might have been the same, and its effects would certainly have been much more permanent; for no sooner had the rash deed been done than the earl's younger brother, James, stepped into his place, and carried on the rebellion of his house with even more energy and determination, and certainly with better justification. He entered Stirling with his brother the Earl of Ormond and James, Lord Hamilton, flung defiance at the king, and tying James's safe-conduct to the late earl to a horse's tail, dragged it through the streets. He then let loose his six hundred followers, and set the town on fire. The Tiger Earl stirred up rebellion in the north, but so good an account having been given of him by the Earl of Huntly, the king's intended intervention was uncalled for.

A Parliament met in Edinburgh on 12th June to take account of recent proceedings; among other things it justified the king's slaughter of Douglas on the ground that

he was a traitor. The new earl caused a letter to be stuck on the door of the hall where Parliament met, in which defiance was breathed against the king. It bore his own seal, and also those of Ormond and of Hamilton. The same Parliament attainted Crawford, and showered favours on the Crichtons and others. It also ordered an army to meet on Pentland Muir; thirty thousand men mustered. The king led them into the country of the Douglas, and forced the earl to sign his submission. A temporary reconciliation took place; the king gave his consent to the earl's marriage with his brother's widow, the Fair Maid of Galloway, and further proved his confidence by making Douglas one of the commissioners to England to arrange a truce. But Douglas harboured resentment, and was still determined to cause dispeace in his own country and to stir up enemies against the king. For this end he succeeded in securing the return of the Earl of Strathearn, whom James I. had banished, and whose estates had been forfeited. The earl returned full of a sense of his wrongs, and being of royal lineage, he was a dangerous enemy to the throne. Douglas also was responsible for a rising in the west, and with a view to further rebellion, he was promised the support of the Yorkist party.

The contest between the two houses had now entered on its final stage. In March 1455 James invaded the Douglas country and swept all before him. Douglasdale, Avondale, and Ettrick Forest were in turn overrun, and Douglas himself was driven across the Border. Hamilton submitted, but the earl's three brothers still carried on the strife. The royal forces met them at Arkinholm, now Langholm, where the party of Douglas was crushed. His brother, the Earl of Moray, was slain; his second brother, the Earl of Ormond, was captured and executed as a traitor; and a third brother, Douglas of Balveny, escaped to England. Parliament met in Edinburgh on the 10th June; the House of Douglas was attainted, and its estates attached to the Crown or divided among the

nobles. None of the name, so it was decreed, was to find harbour in Scotland; and even the Wardenship of the Marches, hereditary in the family, was taken from it. Thus fell the House of Douglas, and the king's triumph so cowed the barons that no trouble was caused by any of them during the remainder of his reign.

James had still five years of rule before him, and he devoted them to the promotion of peace and the prosperity of his country. The best part of one year he spent in the Highlands, coming, while there, to a good understanding with John, Lord of the Isles. He held Parliaments, which legislated for agriculture and the poor. Learning, too, received attention, and one notable result was the founding of Glasgow University (1451). Douglas endeavoured to keep alive the old claims of England, and Edward IV. responded by addressing James as 'one who pretended to be king over his rebels in Scotland.' James replied by raiding the English Border. Roxburgh castle was still in the hands of the English, and James was determined to reduce it. For the first time in Scottish warfare cannon were employed in its siege. The king was much interested in the new weapon, and one Sunday morning (3rd August 1460), while watching their operations, he was struck and killed by a splinter from a bursting cannon. The queen insisted on the siege being continued until the castle was taken and destroyed.

James was only in his thirtieth year when he died, and during the comparatively brief time that elapsed between his majority and his death he did much for his country. Certain writers draw a comparison between him and his great ancestor, Robert the Bruce. Both began their career by a rash, if not outrageous act, and the die having been cast, they never looked back, but advanced from one success to another. Both were born rulers of men, and combined enterprise with prudence, and each took a deep interest in the poor, and won the confidence of his followers. Other points of resemblance might have been traced

had James's life been spared, but he was cut off at the very moment when the achievement of great things for Scotland in the way of legislative reforms and peaceful progress was within his reach. It may seem that, however much improvement in these directions might have been desired, it was impossible to compass it if one were to judge by the unsettled condition of the country, indicated by the revolts of powerful barons like the Earls of Douglas, Crawford, and Ross. But such troubles, after all, were chiefly on the surface, and when one carefully reads such records as exist, it is seen that the common people had made more progress and were much happier and contented than the times would otherwise seem to warrant. Compared with France, for example, where the disbanded soldiers of the Hundred Years' War were harrying the country, or even with England, where the Wars of the Roses were ruining thousands of the population, Scotland was almost a desirable place to live in. The people were quietly working out their own salvation while kings and lords were destroying each other in public warfare or in private feud. The time was to come when despotic rule on the part of the Crown or nobility would be a memory of the past, and when the people, trained by long years of hardship, would rise to the surface of the national life and take their destinies into their own hands. One step towards this end was taken in the reign of James II. The power of the barons was greatly reduced by the forfeiture to the Crown of the vast estates of the Douglasses and other nobles. To enrich the Crown was to enrich the people, for greater resources would be put in the hands of the Government for the management of affairs, and the people would be relieved of burdens of taxation which would otherwise have to be imposed to meet national expenses. In this and other ways, which will fall to be mentioned in a subsequent chapter, the growth of prosperity and comfort may be seen,

CHAPTER XX

JAMES III., 1460-1488

THE reign of the new king opened with great opportunities for a capable ruler, but owing to James III.'s long minority, and probably to defects in his own character, these opportunities were not turned to any good advantage. Indeed, at his death the work of his two predecessors was practically undone, and the barons became more powerful and unruly than ever. At his father's death Scotland was turning its face towards internal and national advance. It had little to fear at the hands of England, which was distracted and weakened by the conflicts between the two parties of Lancaster and York; and France found it to be more to her advantage to have Scotland as a friend than an enemy. In addition, the young king received valuable aid from Bishop Kennedy, who was one of the most patriotic statesmen as well as one of the greatest ecclesiastics and best men that Scotland has ever produced. James, who was now at the close of his ninth year, was crowned in Kelso Abbey on the 10th August, seven days after his father's death. By the fall of Roxburgh castle the English were driven out of every Scottish stronghold, Berwick alone excepted.

Two parties in the State almost immediately revealed themselves: that of Kennedy on the one hand, and that of the queen-mother on the other. This is what usually happened in Scotland during a minority; opposing factions always sprang up, fighting for the most part for the possession of the young king. Kennedy, who was strongly supported by the Earl of Angus and the older nobility, sided with the Lancastrians, thus following out the policy of

James II. ; while the queen-mother, along with the younger lords, were Yorkists. Such, at all events, was the ground for the contention of the two parties. The true reason probably was that each wished to be supreme. The cause of Lancaster, notwithstanding Scottish support, was under a cloud, and Henry VI. and his queen, Margaret of Anjou, had to seek shelter in Scotland (1461). As a return for the hospitality thus shown him, Henry gave up Berwick to the Scots. This was a cause of much national joy ; no Scottish stronghold was now in possession of the English.

Edward IV., who had recently been crowned, was anxious to punish the Scots for the support which they had given to the Lancastrian party, but he was even more desirous of having their power broken, so that he might in future have no trouble at their hands. Casting about for means to accomplish this, he found a ready instrument in the Earl of Douglas, who was still eager to recover his possessions in Scotland, and willing to play the traitor to his own country. Had the scheme which was now planned been carried out, Scotland would have been broken up into two, and the course of events would have taken a very different direction. The other instrument that was to aid the English king in carrying out his policy was John, Lord of the Isles. Douglas sounded him, and found him, notwithstanding his recent friendliness to James II., a willing party to the plot. Edward entered into a treaty with his two confederates, by which Scotland to the north of the Forth was to be given to the Lord of the Isles and his kinsman, Donald Balloch, while the lands of Douglas, taken from the family by James II., were to be restored to the earl. Edward himself was to be Lord Paramount of Scotland, while his two confederates were to be his vassals. The English king also courted the favour of the queen-mother, and the Earl of Warwick proposed a marriage between her and Edward.

The policy of the English king, which was to break up the unity of Scotland, seemed to be in the fair way to success. The Lord of the Isles began to play the part of king (October

1461). He called upon the inhabitants of the sheriffdoms and burghs of Inverness and Nairn to yield obedience to his son Angus, and demanded that the Crown rents and customs should be paid to himself. When news of this revolt reached the Government, the would-be king was summoned to appear, but he haughtily declined, and continued his depredations. Nor was Douglas idle. He was busy harrying the West Marches, and a threat on the part of Edward to invade Scotland stirred the energy of Bishop Kennedy to action. The venerable prelate donned his armour, and with the young king led an army to the Border. The defeat of Douglas averted the threatened danger, and Kennedy, reconsidering his position, dropped the Lancastrian cause, which was not prospering, and entered into a truce with England. The queen-mother, who since the death of her husband had taken a prominent part in national affairs, and who had shown remarkable energy but a lack of prudence, died towards the end of the year 1463. She was long remembered for her foundation of Trinity College Church and Hospital in Edinburgh, erected to the memory of her husband. The Earl of Angus having died in the spring of the same year, Kennedy was left the sole guardian and guide of his country's policy, and he is admitted on all hands to have discharged his high trust with remarkable success. He was during his lifetime praised for three things, for which since his death he has been fondly remembered: the founding of St Salvator College, St Andrews, the building of a great ship, known as the Bishop's Barge, and the erection of a magnificent tomb to himself in the college chapel. The barge has long since vanished, but the college and the tomb still remain to keep alive his memory.

Kennedy was not long dead (July 1465) ere some of those who had been held in check by his strong hand entered into a band, the purpose of which was to share the 'spoils of office' (10th February 1466). The three men who signed the deed were Robert, Lord Fleming, Gilbert, Lord Kennedy,

and Sir Alexander Boyd. Fleming was the son of that Malcolm Fleming who was done to death along with the young Earl of Douglas ; Kennedy was the bishop's elder brother ; and Boyd was a brother of Lord Boyd of Kilmarnock. They arranged among themselves that the king should be placed in the hands of Kennedy and Boyd, and that Fleming should receive any ' large thing ' that might be going. They soon put their plot into action. At a hunting party at Linlithgow the young king was seized and taken to Edinburgh. A Parliament was held, at which Lord Boyd fell at the king's feet and asked him if he had been taken thither against his will. To this he replied ' No.' The scene had evidently been well rehearsed, but, as after-events showed, it was, so far as James himself was concerned, a hollow farce. The rise of the Boyds was now rapid. Lord Boyd was made guardian of the king, the fortresses of the country were placed in his hands, and he was enriched with large tracts of lands. His house threatened to become as powerful as that of Douglas. His eldest son Thomas, who would seem to have been a man of varied gifts and singular charm, married the Princess Mary, the king's sister. The Boyds were thus, by position, wealth, and influence, the most powerful family in Scotland. But their fall was to be as rapid as their rise.

The king was now in his eighteenth year, and his counsellors made a fortunate choice in securing for his wife Margaret, daughter of Christian, King of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The Norway ' annual,' which Scotland had to pay for its possession of the Western Isles, had not been remitted since the reign of James I., and King Christian had been pressing for the money. When he heard of the intention of the Scots, he cordially approved of it, and Boyd, now created Earl of Arran, was sent to Norway to negotiate the match. He was so successful that in the end the Norway ' annual ' was dropped, and Orkney and Shetland ceded to Scotland as the young princess's marriage dowry. It would have been better for Boyd if he had not

returned a second time to Norway to bring home the king's bride, for in his absence his enemies plotted his destruction. His wife, discovering the fate in store for him, boarded his ship before he landed, and they set sail for Denmark. His father and uncle, Lord Boyd and Sir Alexander Boyd, were seized and condemned to death for their kidnapping of the king at Linlithgow, and the Crown was greatly enriched by the forfeiture of their large estates. James made it impossible for Arran to live in Denmark, and having induced his sister to return to her native country, married her to Lord Hamilton. From this union sprang that claim of the Hamiltons to the throne which was a source of intrigue and trouble down to the reign of Charles I.

Kennedy was succeeded in the bishopric of St Andrews by Patrick Graham, his half-brother (4th November 1465). Graham after his appointment journeyed to Rome, where he made a considerable stay, and while there he succeeded in having St Andrews erected into an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see, with jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland, including Orkney and the Shetland Islands. This ought to have been a source of gratification to Scotland, because for one thing it would put an end to the claims of the Archbishops of York, but, strange to say, it was not favoured by bishops, king, or nobles. The truth is, that the declension of the Church at this time was marked and rapid. Sales of benefices were common, and unfit persons received important appointments. The bishops did not wish interference from a nearer quarter than Rome, and none in authority in ecclesiastical matters, whether lay or clerical, contemplated with satisfaction the danger of having the revenues of the Church, out of which they were making a good profit, directed towards their legitimate objects. Accordingly Graham on his return met with strong opposition, mainly from the king's chief adviser and instigator, William Scheves, afterwards Graham's successor. The prospective archbishop was at the time physician and astrologer to the king, and the chief officer

of his wardrobe. So strong was the influence of the party opposed to Graham that they managed to secure a papal Bull (9th January 1478) deposing him from his high office. The whole proceedings are obscure ; some historians allege that Graham was mad, while others affirm that he was an honest reformer.

Satisfactory relations were formed with England on 26th October 1474. By them James's infant son, the future James IV., was to marry Cecilia, Edward's youngest daughter. Although this compact in the end miscarried, it had an immediate effect in bringing John, Lord of the Isles, to his knees. This would-be king, depending chiefly on the countenance and support of Edward, had for the past twelve years been acting as an independent potentate. A determined and successful effort was now made to bring him into subjection, and the fact that the Government knew that he could no longer depend upon the help of the English strengthened their hands. Accordingly he was cited in his own castle of Dingwall (16th October 1475) to appear before the Parliament which was to meet in December. He refused. Thereupon four earls, Argyll, Crawford, Atholl, and Huntly, were instructed to bring him into subjection. Against such a strong combination he had no alternative but to place himself at the mercy of the Crown (15th July 1476). He fared better than he deserved, chiefly owing to the intercession of the queen. He had, however, to give up his earldom of Ross, Knapdale, Kintyre, and the castles of Inverness and Nairn. His vast possessions as Earl of Ross went to the Crown, and he himself was permitted to sit in Parliament as Lord of the Isles, the first time on which this title received legal sanction.

The reign of James had so far been one of national progress and success. His relations with England were satisfactory, peace prevailed at home, and large possessions had been added to Scotland by his marriage. But a change, as radical as it was sudden, was to affect his own and his country's fortunes. Up till this time the management of

national affairs had been largely in the hands of those who had acted as the responsible advisers of the king during his minority, but now that he was of age and had taken into his own hands the government of the country, he dispensed with them, and chose others, who not only failed to win the confidence of the country, but stirred in the breasts of his subjects a spirit of hostility, which led to misunderstanding and disagreement between him and his people, and ended in the tragic event of Sauchieburn. James, in making his selection, acted, no doubt, in keeping with his own character. He was anything but a knight after the fashion of the times, for he delighted more in peace than in war, in music than in tournaments. It may be that he was touched by the spirit of the Renaissance, which was beginning to breathe its influence over Europe. If so, he was far in advance of his own countrymen, who still delighted in feuds and strife among themselves, and Border raids against England. James's appearance had a foreign cast; he had a sallow complexion and dark hair. He surrounded himself with men such as Thomas Cochrane, an architect, William Roger, a musician, James Hommyle, his tailor, and others, of whom he made confidants, and in whose society he took delight. To the rude Scottish nobility such men were mere 'masons' and 'fiddlers,' although a contemporary testimony bears out that they were possessed of talent and culture. James evidently affected the fine arts; he was a royal dilettante, and a patron of men of genius. He would have been quite at home as the head of some Italian state, but he was out of sympathy with the national sentiment of Scotland.

The first signs of discontent and disagreement appeared in his relation to his two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar. They would seem to have been rollicking young men, with characters and accomplishments quite in keeping with the spirit that then prevailed. It is alleged that some of those astrologers or soothsayers who surrounded James hinted to the king in the form of a

fable that those brothers of his desired to displace him and to possess the throne. It is more than likely, however, that James's suspicions were stirred by the sympathies of the people, which declared themselves in favour of his more warlike brothers. In any case, the two young men were suddenly seized ; Mar was imprisoned in Craigmillar castle, and Albany in the castle of Edinburgh. Albany managed to escape in romantic fashion by making a rope of his bed-sheets and dropping from his prison window. He made haste to find refuge in France. Unfortunately for James, Mar died in prison ; it is said that he had taken a fever, for which he was bled, and that, tearing his bandages off his wounds, he caused his own death. Suspicion rested upon James, and his brother's death was made a reason at a later date for refusing to entrust his own son to the king's keeping (1479).

Scotland's relations to England now became less satisfactory. It was evident that Edward had made terms with Scotland because he could not help himself, but now, owing to the troubles that had sprung up in the northern kingdom, he felt himself in a more independent position, and showed that his attitude to Scotland was anything but friendly : he evidently longed to capture Berwick. Louis XI. also took a leading hand in bringing about trouble between the two neighbouring kingdoms. He desired to turn aside the attentions of Edward from France and its interests, and his method was the old one, well known to the French kings, of inciting the Scots to invade England. He sent for this purpose two embassies to the court of James ; the first was a failure, the second was a triumphant success. In a short time Border raids into England became a common pastime with the Scots ; the Earl of Angus, returning from one of them, boasted that he had slept three nights on English soil. Edward was not the man to rest quietly under such provocation, and retaliated by invading Scotland by land and sea. A Parliament now met in Edinburgh, a muster of troops was commanded, and Scotland found

itself in the full tide of a war with England (13th March 1482).

Edward lost no time in preparing for the conflict. He had a constant ally in the traitor Earl of Douglas, upon whose head the Scots set a price. But even a more welcome ally he found in the Duke of Albany, James's brother, who joined him from France. The two came to an understanding at Fotheringay castle, by which Albany was to marry Cecilia, Edward's daughter, and to become king of Scotland, acknowledging himself, of course, to be the vassal of King Edward, who was also to have Berwick and other strongholds restored to the English crown. Accordingly (10th and 11th June 1482) an English army, under Gloucester and Albany, was on its way to the Borders. The Scots, with the king at their head, had, on their way to meet the English forces, encamped at Lauder, and James, as if to court the evil fortune which was speedily to overtake him, took with him his detested favourites. Another detachment of the Scots, headed by Angus, Huntly, Lord Gray, and others, joined the king's forces at Lauder, and its leaders, before marching to the Borders under the king to meet the English army, determined to come to a clear understanding with James himself. They accordingly waited upon him in his royal tent, headed, no doubt, by Angus, who thus earned the title of 'Bell-the-Cat,' and put before the king two proposals as the condition of their co-operation with him in the impending struggle. One was that he would purify and improve the coinage, which had become greatly debased, and consequently was the source of much distress in the country, and the other was that he would dismiss his favourites, notably Cochrane, who was hated above all the others. Both proposals the king indignantly rejected, whereupon the insurgent lords seized the king's favourites, dragged them to Lauder Bridge, and hanged them over its parapets. James was conducted to Edinburgh castle, and put under the charge of his uncle, the Earl of Atholl.

The English army, under Gloucester and Albany, contented themselves with the taking of the town of Berwick, and the Scots were left free to put their own affairs in order, Albany, however, forming an important factor in the new agreement. A meeting was accordingly arranged in Edinburgh, at which a treaty was struck. By it Albany was secured from prosecution for his late conduct, and had his estates restored, on the condition that he owed allegiance to the king ; and the city of Edinburgh agreed, should the marriage arrangements between Edward's daughter Cecilia and the heir to the Scottish throne fall through, to refund that part of her dowry which had already been paid. England's greatest gain, however, was the taking shortly after of the castle of Berwick, and so this important town and stronghold again reverted to England.

A new complexion was put upon affairs by the sudden and close friendship which sprang up between James and Albany, the two brothers even sharing the same bed. The king's favour was further shown in his appointing Albany Lieutenant-General of the Realm. But there was a limit to James's concessions ; he had no intention of brooking the overbearing spirit of Albany, and drove the duke again into negotiations with England. A temporary peace between the two brothers intervened, but Albany was at length forced to cross the Border, and James finally effected his ruin by getting Parliament to pass upon him a sentence of attainder (1483).

James was now master in his own house, peace prevailed at home, and a good understanding existed between him and England. He further struck at Albany by forfeiting the estates of a number of his chief supporters, and he put to rout a force of five hundred men which Albany and Douglas led across the Border. The defeat of the two traitors took place at Lochmaben. Albany managed to escape through the fleetness of his horse, but Douglas was captured. If ever a man deserved a traitor's death it was the 'Black Douglas,' the last of his house ; his life was spared, but

for the rest of his days he was imprisoned in the abbey of Lindores. Albany was killed a year later at a tournament in France.

The year 1488, the last of James's reign, was full of tragic events. The king still insisted on having his favourites, and the one who at this time was in the ascendant was Sir James Ramsay, afterwards Lord Bothwell. Had James possessed even a moderate share of the ruling instinct, he ought not only to have preserved his throne, but to have led the country on the paths of reform and prosperity, for in the very year in which he met his tragic end, he was freed from any danger on the part of those at home and abroad who had threatened to disturb his reign. But he evidently failed to understand the spirit of the times, and the temper of the lords and people. He was distrusted, and the way in which he had forfeited estates and ruined many of the nobility was a warning which was far from unheeded; for while his action struck terror into the hearts of those who might be subjected to similar treatment, it also banded them together for self-defence.

A reason for combined action was soon given to a number of discontented barons. James had by an Act of Parliament appropriated the revenues of Coldingham Abbey for the use of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, one of his own foundations. The Humes regarded these as part of their own patrimony, and resisted the action of the king. James retaliated by getting Parliament to pass an Act (29th January) for the purpose of crushing those who opposed his intention. This threw the Humes and the Hepburns together, and the discontent and opposition spreading, they were joined by the Earls of Angus and Argyll, and by Lords Gray, Drummond, and others. James, in place of facing this rising, fled to the north, where he was joined by a number of the leading nobles. The country was thus plunged into a civil war. The insurgents seized the Duke of Rothesay, the heir to the throne, a lad of fifteen, and brought him into their camp. This was a bold stroke,

and certainly strengthened their position. James, supported by the Earls of Huntly, Crawford, Erroll, Rothes, Sutherland and others, marched south, and the two forces met at Blackness, near Edinburgh. Negotiations took place, which, however, came to nought. The quarrel had to be fought out, and so on the 11th of June the two armies faced each other at Sauchieburn, in the near neighbourhood of the famous field of Bannockburn, which witnessed a very different encounter. James for luck armed himself with the sword of his great ancestor Robert the Bruce, and mounting the fleetest horse in Scotland, led his army to battle. But he was no accomplished knight, not even a brave soldier or bold leader, and before the fight was finished he fled from the field. Dismounting from his horse, he sought refuge in a mill. The insurgents felt that their victory was incomplete unless the king were captured. An eager search was made for him, and his horse having been found, it was inferred that its rider could not be far away. His place of refuge was discovered, and in it, by some unknown hand, James III. of Scotland was assassinated.

The character of James is still a problem to historians, mainly because his reign presents much which, from the meagreness and uncertainty of the existing records, remains unexplained. Two things are fairly clear: his interests were not those to which the Scottish nobles were accustomed, and they, being unable to sympathise, misunderstood and finally turned against him. The question of course comes to be: ought not James, if he had been a wise and prudent prince, to have endeavoured to understand the circumstances of his country and the spirit of those who were his natural counsellors, and tempered his policy to suit the exigencies of the hour? That he did not do so does not prove him to have been a weak or an inferior man. It may show that he was not a born ruler. That he was unable to accommodate himself to the national ideal, so far as that was seen in the policy favoured by his leading subjects, is, in so many words, to say that he was a Stewart.

But that does not glorify his subjects or raise the Scottish nobility to a loftier position than the king's. In any case, it may be said that he failed where success was possible, and that even a greater man would have accommodated himself to the temper of his leading subjects, and have brought the ship of state and his own career to a safe harbour.

CHAPTER XXI

JAMES IV., 1488-1513

THE battle of Sauchieburn was fought on 11th June, and the new king was crowned at Scone towards the end of the same month. He was full of remorse for the slaughter of his father, and at the part which he himself had played in the revolt that led up to so tragic an end. To remind him of the painful event, and as an act of penance, he wore a belt of iron round his waist until his death, and made frequent pilgrimages to the Church of St Duthac at Tain, and to the shrine of St Ninian at Whithorn. The leaders in the movement which cleared his path to the throne had no sad reflections; they took immediate steps to ruin the friends of the late king, and to divide their forfeited estates and the spoils of office among themselves. The chief gainers were the Hepburns and the Homes; to the former house fell the earldom of Bothwell. Argyll was made Chancellor, and Lord Lyle Justiciar. In the very first Parliament of the new king's reign (4th Sept. 1488) they set themselves to justify their late action, declaring that they were 'innocent, white, and free,' and that they found full cause for their rebellion in the king's 'perverse Council,' who had broken faith and arranged for the 'inbringing of Englishmen to the perpetual subjection of the realm.' They convinced the Pope, among others, and he granted them full absolution. Four years afterwards Parliament was compelled, because of the 'heavy murmur and voice of the people,' to offer a reward of a hundred merks to any who might discover the murderers of James III. The reward was of no avail, but was a proof that whatever the Pope might do, the Scottish people did not hold the murderers of their

king guiltless. Although, after the fashion of the Scottish nobles of former reigns who slew their king and then divided among themselves the estates of his loyal supporters, Argyll, Hepburn and Home had done their best to meet what might be regarded as every legitimate demand, a few of their abettors were far from satisfied. Accordingly there was a revolt in the west on the part of Lyle and Lennox, and in the north on the part of Lord Forbes ; but immediate action against all three was taken, and the result was their discomfiture and defeat.

The remainder of James's reign was practically undisturbed by internal troubles. The Lord of the Isles had, of course, to be brought to his senses, but that was an incident which would very likely have happened under any monarch ; in addition, the new king speedily acquired a position and power which were enjoyed by very few of his predecessors. An insurrection of any kind on the part of even his most powerful subject was never seriously thought of. An event happened in the second year of his reign which must have given him very special satisfaction, and caused joy to his subjects generally. This was the notable victory of Sir Andrew Wood over what then stood for the English navy. Wood, who was baron, merchant, and buccaneer all in one, was a loyal friend of the king's father, and he declined to give in his adhesion to the new Government until he was quite satisfied that James III. was dead. But having been assured on this point, he put himself at the service of the new king. English ships had been attacking Scottish vessels, and Wood with his two ships, the *Flower* and the *Yellow Carvel*, fell in with five of the enemy's vessels off Dunbar. A sea-fight took place, in which the Scots commander was victorious, and he triumphantly carried his prizes into the harbour of Leith. The English king sent a trusted captain, Stephen Bull, to capture Wood. The English commander hovered off the Firth of Forth with three vessels, and sighted Wood making, with two vessels which had sailed from Flanders, for Leith harbour.

An engagement took place at once in the sight of all on shore off St Abb's Head. The squadrons fought all day, and towards evening they were seen drifting towards the Tay. They renewed the fight with daylight; Wood again was victorious, and carried his prizes to Dundee.

As much of the trouble of the last reign arose from a debased coinage, Parliament passed an Act making the recurrence of this, so far as it could, impossible. During the next few years no event, save perhaps the terrible revenge of the Drummonds on the Murrays, occurred that calls for special mention. A quarrel sprang up between these two clans on the obscure question of teinds. The Murrays, to about the number of one hundred and fifty, shut themselves up in the church of Monzievaird, and the Drummonds, who had one of their numbers shot, set fire to the church, and burned to death all within it. The ringleaders were afterwards tried and punished at Stirling. But this disturbance in the Highlands was only a foretaste of the greater trouble that was soon to spring up through the redoubtable Lord of the Isles (1493). John, since his submission to James III. and the loss of his earldom of Ross with Kintyre and Knapdale, had been, on the whole, peaceful and law-abiding, but his illegitimate son, Angus, who was married to a daughter of Argyll, hankered after the lost possessions of his house, and made a bold and vigorous effort to regain them. He was driven back from the mainland by Atholl and others, but his wrath was again stirred by his young son Donald Dhu being kidnapped by Atholl and given to Argyll. He took a terrible revenge, devastating the lands of his enemies, and carrying captive Atholl and his countess. The dreaded Angus, however, was shortly afterwards assassinated by an Irish harper, and the fortunes of his family falling into less capable hands, a sentence of forfeiture was passed upon it, and so brought to an end the great Lordship of the Isles (1493). The troubles that were continually springing up in the Highlands from the earliest times down to Culloden

arose chiefly from their distance from the central Government, but also from the fact that the king had no standing army. Some writers try to make out that it was because the inhabitants of the Western Isles and of the northern mainland were of a different race that they revolted against the Scottish king and Government. This theory does not by any means explain the course of events. It has already been shown how mixed the inhabitants were in all parts of the country, and so the question of blood has really very little to do with it. The Douglasses in the south, for example, were a source of much more danger to the Crown than was the Lord of the Isles; and had Liddesdale and Annandale and Galloway been as far removed from Edinburgh as the Hebrides, and as difficult to penetrate, the evolution of Scotland and the Scottish people would have been a much longer, if not altogether an impossible, process.

James on subsequent occasions had to lead armed forces into the Highlands to quell risings that took place, chiefly under Donald Dhu, who proved to be a son worthy of his father. The king endeavoured to conciliate the chiefs by granting them fresh charters for their lands, and making them responsible for their disloyal clansmen; but it was clear that having been so long accustomed to look up to the Lord of the Isles as their real head, the islanders would recognise the authority of no inferior chieftain. The king, finding his pacific efforts of no avail, recalled the charters which he had granted. He also ordered a general clearance of the population; the place of the 'broken men' was to be taken by 'true men.' This was an impossible policy, and resulted in a rising headed by Donald Dhu, which it took all the forces of the kingdom to suppress. The rebel Highlanders were attacked by land and sea, and finally subdued (1506). Donald himself was imprisoned in Edinburgh castle, and the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were made responsible for the peace of the Highlands. These two noble lords fattened well on their new offices, and advanced

the interests of their own families. All the same, notwithstanding the severe chastisement that James had inflicted on the Highlanders, he was popular among them, and none supported him more loyally or fought more bravely at Flodden than the followers of the Lord of the Isles.

The Church in Scotland, as in other parts of Christendom, was becoming alarmed at the spread of heresy. No martyrdom had taken place since that of Paul Craw in the reign of James I., but the new Archbishop of Glasgow, Blackadder, in order, perhaps, to justify his appointment, raised the cry of the Church in danger, and summoned thirty men from Cunningham and Kyle in Ayrshire to answer a charge of heresy (1494). Two years previously Glasgow had been raised to an archbishopric. The reason for this step was the growing arrogance of St Andrews, and it was hoped that, by the erection of another metropolitan, its power would be reduced. The men thus summoned were asked to meet thirty-four charges, among them being one which declared that every faithful man was a priest, and another that the Pope was not the successor of Peter. The issuing of Bulls and Indulgences was also condemned. The young king was present at the trial; he did not regard the matter seriously, and as he was pleased by the wit and humour of one of the accused, the charges were dropped, and thus the Lollards of Kyle, for so they were called, were set at liberty. It was among them that the seeds of the Reformation in Scotland took earliest root, and that John Knox found the warmest welcome and the readiest support. The evangelical fervour of Ayrshire has never cooled from that time.

If religion happened to be advancing on lines that were not favoured by the Church, education was progressing, and chiefly through the Church itself. The founding of the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow was now followed by the establishment of a third at Aberdeen (1495). This was the work chiefly of Bishop Elphinstone, who found

a warm supporter in the king himself. One object of the Church in founding universities was to suppress the heretical ideas that were beginning to prevail. Instead of doing this, they became seed-plots of heresy, and to 'drink of St Leonard's well' became a synonym for the new religious ideas. A famous Act was passed in 1496, ordering all barons and freeholders to send their sons to the grammar schools and afterwards to the universities. It was James's intention to have an educated class that could administer the laws in their own districts, and he himself set a good example in this matter, for he was constant in presiding at circuit courts, and he executed the law without respect to rich or poor.

The greater part of James's reign, in its external relations at any rate, was taken up, as had been that of most of his predecessors, in its policy towards England. James IV. was true to the old alliance with France, and it was his adherence to it that brought about the great disaster that befell his country at Flodden. In 1491 an agreement was made with France that Scotland would attack England should England make war on France. James clearly saw that should Henry become master of France, he would be free to attack Scotland, and this was a possibility that must at every cost be avoided. The English king tried, in English fashion, to bribe certain of the Scottish lords into a betrayal of their king and country, and three or four of them, such as Ramsay, the friend of James III., the Earl of Buchan, and the Earl of Angus, entered into various conspiracies by which they were prepared to become traitors, for a consideration. Angus, since the death of the Black Douglas, was head of that illustrious house, and he, unfortunately, proved himself to be no truer patriot than the majority of those who bore his name. At Lauder Bridge, at Sauchieburn, in his relations with Albany, and now in his dealings with Henry VII., he proved himself to be unworthy of the Good Sir James, and even on the fatal field of Flodden, if reports be true, he played the coward. So

much for the Scottish nobility, and for the first citizen of James IV.'s reign.

The Scottish king found a weapon by which he could threaten the English king in the adventurer, Perkin Warbeck, who declared himself to be none other than Richard, Duke of York. While James took up the pretender's cause, and remained true to his *protégé* as long as he was on Scottish soil, it cannot be shown that he absolutely believed in his claims. He saw in the part which he played, much against the will of his subjects, a means of keeping Henry in order. He took up Warbeck at the beginning with great enthusiasm, gave him a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year, married him to Lady Catherine Gordon, the beautiful daughter of the Earl of Huntly, and determined in the interests of his new friend to attack England, Warbeck agreeing, should success crown the effort, to give Berwick to James for his pains. The Borders were crossed, but England would not respond or rise. Perkin returned dissatisfied, James following soon afterwards. At last, towards the end of 1497, Warbeck sailed from Scotland in the *Cuckoo*, and thus ended an incident which had in it more of romance than reality.

Relations with England were far from satisfactory, and James once more invaded it (1497). The English, under Surrey, retaliated, and after certain negotiations a seven years' truce was arranged at Ayton. Henry had been anxious all along to be at peace with Scotland, and had on more occasions than one offered, in surety of his good faith, his daughter Margaret as wife to the Scottish king. At last a marriage-treaty was drawn up (24th January 1502), the bride carrying as a dowry a sum of ten thousand pounds only. This was a part of her father's well-known niggardliness, and the refusal of Henry VIII. at a later date to discharge the dowry in full, and to hand over to his sister certain jewels left to her by her father, was one of the events which led up to the battle of Flodden. Two other treaties, which, alas ! were to be soon broken,

formed a sort of appendix to the marriage-contract. The one was that perpetual peace was to prevail between the two countries ; and the other, a corollary to it, that there were to be no more Border raids. The marriage was celebrated on the 8th August 1503 in the abbey church, Holyrood. The bride, who was in her fifteenth year, was accompanied from England by a brilliant retinue, headed by the Earl of Surrey. She was met on the way by an equally distinguished Scottish cavalcade, headed by the Earl of Morton. The alliance thus entered into gave occasion for William Dunbar's well-known poem, *The Thistle and the Rose*, and from it sprang the Scottish king who, a hundred years later, was to unite in his own person the two countries that had for centuries been at war.

Scotland now entered upon a period of progress which, for its duration, had never been surpassed in the history of the kingdom. Only one trouble disturbed its peace, and that was the revolt in the Highlands already referred to, but from the masterly way in which it was put down the king gained fresh laurels. The period, of course, was not long—ten years is a very brief time in the history of a nation—but within it a sufficient indication may be given of that nation's capacity. As a proof of the respect of which Scotland was now deemed worthy, its friendship was sought by foreign countries, and although their solicitations may have partly sprung from their own needs, one cannot be blind to the growing influence of the king. He proved his loyalty to his uncle, the King of Denmark, and to his relative, Charles, Duke of Gueldres, by coming to their assistance in their time of need, sparing neither men nor money in the cause of the first, nor diplomatic interference on behalf of both. The growing trade of the country is seen in the complications that arose with other nations over trouble on the high seas. Scottish vessels were taken, and Scottish warships captured the vessels of other nations. It is in this reign that the navy took its first genuine start, and it was the commercial expansion

of the country that necessitated its creation. Our merchant vessels had to be protected. James was fortunate in his commanders—Wood and the brothers Andrew and Robert Barton. They are our Scottish Drakes and Raleighs. It was to Andrew Barton that James entrusted the ‘ane greit and costly ship’ which he built in 1506, and he despatched him with her to redress a wrong that had been committed in the North seas. In this Barton was successful, and as a proof of his victory he sent to the king an assortment of casks with the heads of the Dutch whom he had slain.

But there was in the sky one cloud which was to spread until it darkened the whole country. This was the growing corruption of the Church. Appointments to benefices, and even to bishoprics, were becoming a scandal. James made his own brother, the Duke of Ross, Archbishop of St Andrews (1497), and on his death appointed as his successor (1503) his illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, a mere boy. He was, however, a brilliant youth; could claim Erasmus as a tutor and a friend; and fell fighting for his father and country at Flodden. To make things worse, the Pope was evidently quite pleased with James’s conduct in ecclesiastical matters, and showed his approbation by presenting him with a purple hat and a sword with a scabbard of gold, dubbing him at the same time ‘Protector of the Christian Religion.’

James’s good fortune was only to last a few years longer, for in 1509 Henry VIII. attained the English throne. Even previous to the death of his father, Henry VII., the war cloud that was soon to burst over the two nations was seen gathering. The relations of the two monarchs during the first year of Henry’s reign were extremely cordial, but considering Henry’s temperament and James’s character, friendly relations could not be expected to last very long. In 1508 France was a partner in the League of Cambrai, by which she received a share of the spoils of Venice. Pope Julius II. thought that she had received too much, and formed in turn the Holy League, of which Henry consented to become

a member. The object of this new combination was to attack France. The friendship of James was sought by the different countries interested in the new political development, but the Scottish king, true to the old alliance, threw in his lot with France (1512). This did not bode well for the relations between Scotland and England. Henry was bent upon attacking France, as a member of the League and probably on his own account also, and James let him understand that on such an event happening, he might count on his enmity. Nor could the Scottish king forget that no due reparation had been made for the murder of Sir Robert Ker, Warden of the Middle Marches, which took place towards the end of Henry VII.'s reign and during a time of peace, and his feelings were further wounded and his pride hurt by the capture of Andrew Barton (1511) on the Downs. Barton was slain, and his two ships towed as prizes into the Thames. On demanding reparation from the English king, all the reply he received was, that kings did not quarrel about pirates. Both Ker and Barton were favourites of James, and valued public servants.

James at this crisis relied a good deal on Forman, Bishop of Moray, who went on several embassies, chiefly to France, and while he played the part of Bishop Kennedy, he did not do it so honestly. A trusted servant of the Scottish king, who, as was the case with Forman, received benefits from his master's enemies, cannot be regarded as very faithful to his charge. He is believed to have had a hand in hastening his master's decision. Only a slight spur was needed to rouse James to immediate action, and this came in a ring from the Queen of France with a message that he, as her true knight, should step three feet on to English ground and strike a blow for her honour ; and the news which reached him that Henry had landed at Calais put an end to his hesitation. On the 26th July 1513 James declared war against England. Preparations had been advancing during the year. Arran, with a fleet which included the *Great Michael*,

was despatched to sea. He met with disaster, and this was but the presage to the fate that was to befall the Scottish force as a whole. Other warnings of a more superstitious character were not wanting. While the king was worshipping at vespers in the abbey church at Linlithgow, the figure of a man bareheaded, clad in a long gown, with a pikestaff in his hand, warned him in a solemn voice of the calamity that would attend his enterprise ; and on the eve of his fateful march, a voice was heard from the market cross, Edinburgh, calling the names of the earls and lords who within forty days would be cut off in battle. Such warnings were unheeded ; a great force from every part of Scotland, not the least numerous and enthusiastic being the Celts from the Western Isles, gathered at the Borough Muir, now Morningside, Edinburgh, and on the 22nd of August ' King James was o'er the Border.' His army was the best equipped that had ever marched to the Tweed, one of its chief features being its artillery. The seventeen guns drawn by oxen gave confidence to the army in the coming encounter.

James captured several peels and keeps, and reduced Norham castle, a stronghold of the Bishop of Durham. He then passed on to Ford castle, which also he took. The English under the Earl of Surrey, with Newcastle as their base, marched to meet him, and the Scottish king had the good sense to treat with disdain an insolent challenge on the part of the English leader and another from his more insolent son, the Lord Admiral. James now left Ford and, crossing to the left bank of the Till, encamped on Flodden Hill. He had chosen his position with skill, and if he had remained on it until he was attacked, the results of the battle would have been very different. Surrey was now about ten miles to the south, and was most anxious that James should descend and offer battle, but the Scottish king was not to be tempted. The weather was cold and wet, the English army was running short of provisions, and was suffering chiefly from a lack of beer. The Scottish forces,

on the other hand, were well provisioned, and were camping under shelter. Surrey now marched north by the right bank of the Till (8th September), and on the following day recrossed the river by Twisel Bridge. James would seem to have lost touch with the enemy, whose intention was evidently to cut off his base and force a battle. Surrey was now only nine miles from the Scots, and he headed south to Flodden. James, on the approach of the English, set fire to his camp, and under cover of the smoke descended to Branxton Bridge.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon on 9th September when the battle began. It started with a duel of artillery, but the Scottish guns were speedily silenced. No time was lost on the part of both armies in coming to close quarters, and it was then a hand-to-hand struggle till the end. The Scottish forces were arranged in four battalions, with the king's division in the centre. The left, under Home and Huntly, broke through the English right, but the Scottish Borderers, in place of following up their advantage, turned to plundering. The right wing, under Argyll and Lennox, was less fortunate. They commanded the Highlanders, who attacked the English left under Lord Stanley with their wonted fury, but the English arrows played their deadly part, and the hardy Celts were discomfited. The fury of battle now raged in the centre where the king himself was, and the English wings gradually encircled him, so that he was attacked on flank and rear. The ground being slippery from rain and blood, the Scots took off their shoes and fought barefooted. The king pressed on with undaunted courage, and came to within a spear-thrust of the English leader. The English gave no quarter, and the slaughter among the unyielding Scots was great. It was not archery that won the day, but the English bills, which cut off the heads of the Scottish spears. The night put an end to the struggle; James fought until he fell riddled with arrows and his neck deeply gashed by bill or blade. When morning broke, thirteen earls, three bishops, and gentlemen

and commoners beyond number were found to have fallen fighting around their king.

Flodden may have been a national disaster, but it was not a national disgrace. On no field had Scotland shown so much courage and bravery, and it is with a mournful pride that the descendants of those who fell there look back upon its stricken glory. It was not until morning that the English knew the result of the fight, for at nightfall the ring of Scottish spears that surrounded the king had remained unbroken. Surrey's army was too crippled to be able to follow in pursuit, and the Scots were allowed to retire across the Tweed unmolested.

James IV. has always been one of Scotland's favourite kings ; even his defeat at Flodden did not lessen the admiration and affection of his subjects, for he fell fighting. He had many of the qualities that make a king popular. Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish envoy to his court, has left a pen-and-ink portrait of him. The picture is impressive ; perhaps, indeed, a little too flattering. He was attractive in appearance, wore his hair and beard long, which became him well. He was about the middle height, strong, vigorous, and fond of all manly exercises. He was happy in his surroundings, and realised the national ideals of the times. His temperament was somewhat mercurial, and he was subject to fits of depression, caused by remorse at the part he played in his father's death. In such moods he would make solitary pilgrimages to sacred shrines. He had an active mind, which responded to the new ideas that heralded the birth of the modern world, and he encouraged various movements which make for national progress. His courage was without reproach, and he took pleasure in riding about incognito, a sort of Scottish Haroun Alraschid. He was in no danger of attack, and he in this fashion got a knowledge of the life of his people. The recognition of his country by foreign powers flattered the national pride, and the liberal manner in which he met the growing needs of the kingdom, with respect particularly to the navy, out of his own private

purse, won their confidence. He may have been, as a contemporary notes, 'adventurous and wilful,' and this trait in his character may have been responsible for the glorious catastrophe by which he met his death, but it was at the same time a feature which appealed to his subjects, and was in keeping with the spirit of the times.

CHAPTER XXII

SCOTLAND IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

WE have now arrived at a point when a retrospective view may be taken of the condition and progress of Scotland during the fifteenth century. As a matter of fact, kings in those days counted for much more than they do now, and the history of a country centred to a very large extent in them. The nobility, too, occupied a much more prominent position than that which is given to them in our time, and in their hands rested, to a very considerable extent, the government of the country. The historical records which exist deal chiefly with the doings of the kings and the barons. Wars, battles, and feuds are what mainly concern the chroniclers and historians. Comparatively little interest was taken in social questions, and the undercurrents that were at work only made themselves felt at a much later day. Movements, however, there were in the direction of true national progress. It may seem that there is no good reason for choosing the end of a century as the stage at which such a review should take place, but in the present instance the close of the fifteenth century marked the beginning of a new era in European history, and Scotland shared in the movements that then took place. It was during the reign of James IV. that the spirit of the new times made itself felt in Scotland. The Renaissance had come, and the Reformation was coming. The national pulse beat more strongly, and a feeling of expansion and progress seemed to animate all classes.

It is in the constitutional changes which take place that the historian sees real national development. Scotland in this respect compares unfavourably with England. The neighbouring country across the Border had fought its battle

of civil right and liberty, as these found expression in its institutions, long before Scotland. But the smaller country had all the elements for an equal advance, and when the time did at last arrive for giving concrete form to them, it leaped almost at a bound to a position of freedom which even England had not reached. Meanwhile, it may not be profitless to glance at that great national institution which has been the pride of the British nation—we mean Parliament. It differed in many respects from that of England, and never really attained to the virtues of that time-honoured institution. But, all the same, it was a very serviceable instrument, and paved the way for an appreciation of the larger and better one in which it was to be absorbed.

Reference has already been made to the Parliament of Robert the Bruce (1326), in which the burgesses sat for the first time, and from then on to the period to which our narrative has brought us the three Estates of clergy, barons, and burghers met together as a great National Council or Parliament with more or less regularity. It is remarkable that even so late as the time of Robert II. (1373) we find the Acts of Parliament being ratified by the people. This was a survival of the older custom which prevailed anterior to any Parliament, when great national decisions were confirmed, as it was expressed, ‘with the consent of the community,’ ‘with the consent and assent of all the people of Scotland,’ or, as in the instance referred to, when Robert II. obtained the solemn sanction to the throne, he also received ‘the assent and consent of the whole multitude of clergy and laity as well.’ In the time of David II. we find Parliament extending its powers, taking upon itself the administration of justice, stating and deciding terms of peace, regulating the coinage, and limiting the expenditure of the king. Reference has already been made to the origin of the ‘Lords of the Articles’ and the ‘Judicial Committee of Parliament.’ The former body gradually gathered up into its own hands many of the functions which ought to

have been left to the larger body. Composed of representatives of clergy, nobles, and burghs, and of the great officers of the Crown, it arranged and prepared all Acts and measures, which were then brought before Parliament, and at once voted and passed without debate.

James I. is noted for the regularity with which he met his Parliament, but certain reforms which he introduced never took effect. In James II.'s reign the most important measures passed were for the appropriation of lands to the Crown. Very extensive additions were made, and it justified its acts on the ground that it was thereby adding to the wealth of the nation. In the reign of James III. we find the true character of the 'Lords of the Articles' revealing itself. Matters were so managed by it that Parliament simply registered the wishes of the party which for the time being was in the ascendant. This body was elected before the close of the session. It became a packed committee, and hindered rather than advanced constitutional progress. The burghs failed to return their representatives with regularity, and even the smaller barons frequently neglected to put in an appearance. The control of Parliament thereby passed into the hands of the leading clergy and nobles. They naturally formed the dominant element in the 'Lords of the Articles,' and Parliament, as a free assembly representing the mind of the nation, practically ceased to exist. It was only when the Reformation dawned, and the representatives of the burghs and the smaller barons and lairds, in response to the call of Knox and the religious and social revolution that was taking place, came to Parliament in full strength, that those measures were carried upon which the people as a whole had set their hearts. Previous to this, attempts had been made to increase the power of the Crown by taking away from the citizens the right of choosing their own magistrates, and giving it to the retiring council. By this method only those representatives would be sent by the burghs to Parliament of whom the Crown approved.

It is satisfactory to note the deep interest which the Jameses took in the administration of justice. It was the pride and pleasure of most of them to go through the country seeing that wrongs were righted. James I. founded a system of statute law, and introduced the court known as The Session. He also caused the laws of the country to be promulgated in the mother tongue. James II. founded a court or committee, consisting of representatives chosen from the clergy, nobles, and burghs, to meet twice a year in Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen for the administration of justice. This body developed, in the reign of James IV., into a court which was to meet and sit permanently in Edinburgh. It was called the Daily Council. It was superseded in 1532, in the reign of James V., by the Court of Session, which has continued with varying changes until the present day.

The defence of the country was of necessity a matter of great importance to both king and people. Inroads from England were of frequent occurrence, and the independence and very life of the nation depended upon its power to repel them. Internal disturbances were also far from uncommon, and rebellions which threatened the throne itself had to be put down. The strong nation, as well as the strong man, armed, was the clamant need of the times. We accordingly find repeated Acts of Parliament dealing with the training of all who were capable of bearing arms, and stringent measures taken to enable them to defend both hearth and home. Every male of sixteen years of age and upwards was liable to be called to the field, and every class in the community had to arm itself in proportion to its wealth. The rich burgher had to obey the call of the king, equipped with a horse and all the accoutrements of a knight, and the poorest retainer had to furnish himself with a battle-axe or sword at least. The Scots were weak in archery, and in most of their battles with the English they suffered serious loss at the hands of the southern bowmen. Wapinschaws accordingly were instituted, four of them taking place in

the year, and every male, from twelve years of age upwards, was ordered to attend these meetings, and to shoot on each occasion three arrows at a mark. Indeed, at a subsequent time holidays were used for this purpose, and as these numbered sixty in the year, ample opportunity was given for practice. But the Scots never became expert archers. The weapon in which they most delighted was the spear. They handled it with great skill, and seeing that it measured from fifteen to eighteen feet in length, it proved a deadly weapon. Those who preferred football or golf to shooting at the butts had to submit to a fine for every offence, but neither promises nor threats would seem to have had much effect. Archery never became popular in Scotland.

In the reign of James IV., the second, and what is now regarded as the first, arm of national defence was established. It was then that the navy came into existence as a really useful and formidable force. Robert the Bruce recognised the need for war vessels, and took the first step towards the building of a fleet, but it was not until the time of James IV. that the matter was seriously taken in hand. It was the king himself who, with all the eagerness of his ardent nature, created a Scottish navy. The nobility under the feudal system did not regard themselves in any way responsible for its building or maintenance. They and their vassals were, as a rule, prepared to give their services for the appointed period of forty days, as soldiers at the call of the king, and to furnish themselves with the necessary equipment and provisions. But beyond this their duty, as they conceived it, did not extend. The king himself was therefore forced to bear the burden of the navy, and one of the reasons, as we have seen, which made James so popular with his subjects was that he did so with the utmost cheerfulness. He entered upon his new enterprise with great enthusiasm, built sixteen large ships, chief among them being the *Great St Michael*, which alone cost £30,000, apart from her artillery, 'wasting all the woods of Fife' in search of timber for her construction. It was James's

proud boast that he had built the largest ship then existing. He was fortunate in securing skilled captains, and the handsome fleet which he thus provided helped to raise Scotland to the high position which it occupied in his day among the nations of Western Europe.

The chief industry of the times was agriculture. It must be admitted that it was not in a very advanced stage. Encouragement was given from time to time to the tillers of the soil to make the most of the natural resources of the land, and even Acts of Parliament were passed for the purpose of compelling the smallest holder to cultivate a certain portion of the soil. Such encouragement and compulsion were very much required. The unsettled state of the country, and the devastations that took place in some of the most fertile districts owing to English invasions, gave a set-back to the progress that had already taken place, and the poverty of the tenants, through uncertainty of tenure and other causes, gave no inducement for agricultural development. The lot of the farm labourer, and even of the farmer, was the reverse of enviable. It is poor comfort to say that the condition of the Scottish peasant was no worse, perhaps a little better, than that of his English or French brother, but he was in subjection to the nobles, and could scarcely call his farm his own. We accordingly find laws passed in the interests of the tenant; one, for example, decreed that leases were to hold good even though land should change hands. This was in the reign of James II., and in that of James III. another Act was passed which freed the tenant from any responsibility for his landlord's debts. These Acts are very significant, and indicate the hardship of the peasant's lot.

Encouragement was also given as early as in the reign of James I. for the sowing of peas, and in that of his successor for the planting of wood, hedges, and broom. Scotland was at this time largely denuded of its timber, but as coal began to be used as fuel in the reign of James I., the prospect of the country again being covered with trees

was fairly hopeful. Sheep were reared in large numbers, and rewards were given for the destruction of wolves and foxes ; birds of prey, also, were to have their nests robbed of their young, so that all carrion might as far as possible be extirpated. At an earlier period the land was cultivated by the serfs, but they gradually obtained their freedom. Little is known of the process, but it is believed that the War of Independence helped to give them their liberty. Wallace would be glad to receive their assistance in the struggle for national independence. While with him they would be safe from their masters, and in place of returning to their old districts and homes, they would settle down practically as freemen in other parts of the country.

The houses of the peasantry were simple and primitive ; their food was the natural products of the soil, and as fish abounded in the rivers and on the sea-coasts, they were not, even in the time of famine, without sustenance. Their crops were liable at any moment to be trampled down by the baron and his retainers when bent on some warlike enterprise, and laws were passed demanding compensation for such injuries ; while it will be remembered that when the French troops, which had come over to the assistance of the Scots in the reign of Robert II., rode through the fields, resentment and retaliation on the part of those whose property was thus injured immediately followed. The Scottish peasants, even then, were singularly independent, and spoke and acted with marked freedom.

One of the most commendable of James IV.'s actions was his encouragement of the fishing industry. He thought it was a deliberate squandering of the nation's wealth to neglect reaping the great harvest which the sea offered. He ordered that a large fishing-fleet should be equipped, and that idlers and vagabonds should be commandeered to sail and serve in the vessels. This was a first-rate piece of legislation, and served two purposes. If strenuously carried out, it would add to the wealth and comfort of the community, and compel the loafer to do useful work. It

is unfortunate that the Scottish Executive was almost always too weak to carry out the Acts of Parliament. On reading over the different decrees that issued from the legislature, one might conclude that the country was fairly well advanced politically and socially, but many of these decrees remained dead letters. It was also in the reign of James IV. that Scotland formed a healthy commercial connection with the Continent. Even so early as the days of Wallace there was an interchange of trade between this country and Germany. In the time of James I., owing to the marriage of Mary, his fifth daughter, to the Lord of Campvere, close relations were formed with the Low Countries, and an interchange of goods between Flanders and Scotland became common. It is interesting to note the nature of our exports. These consisted of wool, hides, skins, salmon, pearls, and cloth of cheap quality. And among the imports were such goods as lawn, holland, cambrics, silk, velvet, taffeta, damask, ribbons, and wine. The character of these exports and imports sheds a considerable light upon the social condition of the country. Scotland may not have had much to sell, but what it bought shows that many of the people had attained to a condition of considerable refinement, and even luxury. During this period many Flemings from the Low Countries settled along the east coast of Scotland, and introduced the industries for which they were famous.

The population of Scotland towards the close of the fifteenth century is estimated at about 600,000, of which the bulk was found in the smaller towns and country districts. Edinburgh, which was now the capital, contained probably some 17,000 or 21,000 inhabitants. The town next in size was Perth, which had about 7000. Aberdeen, Dundee, and St Andrews had between 4000 and 5000 each. Glasgow still ranked among the smaller burghs. The only town that was walled was Perth. There were gardens at the backs of the houses, and the walls which protected them formed a sort of rampart. At each main entrance to the town there was a port or gate. The lower part of the

houses was of stone, the upper of wood ; a stone stair led to the first story. In front was an outside passage or gallery, and this, with the booths that were erected before many of the houses, made the narrow streets still narrower. Sanitation was practically unknown ; the chief scavengers were swine. Aberdeen, however, boasted of one scavenger, and his position was unchallenged by any colleague or competitor until a much later period than that of which we are writing. Glass was still expensive, and was only found in the windows of the best houses. Like the tapestry or cloth which took the place of modern wallpaper, it was carried by the tenant to his new abode in the event of removal. Floors were still earthen, and they were carpeted with rushes mixed with sweet herbs. The sturdy beggar was always in evidence, both in town and country, and many Acts were passed to put him down. Lepers also begged from door to door. In view of such conditions, pestilences and plagues were far from uncommon.

Even at this early period the towns were attracting country labourers, the inducement being the better pay they received there. A skilled artificer earned sometimes from three to five shillings a day. The average wage for a tradesman, however, was about ten shillings a week. Labourers received a shilling a day. The cost of living was in proportion. Towards the end of the fourteenth century the price of an ox was 8s., of a sheep 1s. 9½d. The price of a chalder of oats was £1, and a chalder of wheat £2, 1s. 4d. Prices, of course, varied towards the close of the fifteenth century, when an ox cost from 5s. to 18s., a sheep could be bought for 1s. 6d., and even when of the best quality did not cost more than 3s. Oatmeal could be purchased for 6s. a boll. Fish was cheap, and other native-grown products were in proportion. The trading rights of burghs were carefully laid down and strictly guarded. To each burgh was attached a wide district, but only in the burgh itself could articles be bought and sold, and royal burghs alone were permitted to

export goods and trade with foreign countries. Thus Edinburgh, which was the largest town in Scotland as well as the capital, had in this respect to yield place to Leith. An interchange of goods between the different burghs could only take place at the annual fair. Considerable jealousy existed between the craftsmen and the merchants, who were of a higher social order. The former by their own energy formed themselves into guilds, and gradually secured valuable rights which enabled them to raise their position. The iron ore, which existed in abundance, was undeveloped, but much search was made for the gold that was to be found in the valleys of the Lowthers. The country was poor, so far as the possession of the precious metals is concerned, and the coinage suffered in consequence. Scottish money was equal in value only to a fourth of English money ; it was debased by being largely mixed with copper.

Drinking habits prevailed, and Acts were passed restricting the hours during which houses of public entertainment might be open. Even the quantity of liquor that a man should consume was specified. Care was taken that both food and drink should be free from any adulteration, and that articles for sale were genuine and of good material and workmanship. The chief festivals of the year were Yule and Easter, and outdoor sports such as wrestling, football, and golf were generally indulged in. No special sanctity was attached to Sunday ; indeed, it was the one day in the week into which secular enjoyment was chiefly pressed. The right of sanctuary was abolished. Roads were bad ; in fact, they can hardly be said to have existed ; and as wayfarers were in the habit of abusing the privilege of shelter in the monasteries, inns were ordered to be provided for the entertainment of travellers. Hospitals, too, were numerous, but poorly equipped and endowed ; they were usually found at the entrances to the towns, on the banks of rivers, and in lonely mountain passes.

Schools existed at an early period ; they were, to begin with, attached to the monasteries, but in the fourteenth

century grammar schools were founded in some of the royal burghs. They were partly under the patronage of the magistrates, but mostly under that of the Church. Assistance was sometimes given to scholars from the royal treasury. The chief subject taught was Latin. It is not definitely known whether any instruction was given in the Scots vernacular. The first Education Act was passed in 1496, when barons and freeholders were ordered to send their eldest sons and heirs to school to be well instructed in Latin, and to acquire an amount of knowledge sufficient to enable them to administer the laws of the country with intelligence and justice. It was during the fifteenth century that three of the four Scottish universities were founded: St Andrews in 1413, Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1495. It should not be forgotten that it was the bishops of these dioceses who were the prime movers in founding the universities and establishing the higher education in Scotland. The names of Bishops Wardlaw, Turnbull, and Elphinstone will be handed down to posterity as pioneers in Scottish education. These universities were modelled after the Continental type. St Andrews had for its pattern Paris; Glasgow, Bologna; and Aberdeen, Louvain. They were but poorly endowed, and had a struggling existence for many years, but their equipment and wealth and power for service grew with the prosperity of the country.

The Church during this period, while increasing in wealth, was decreasing in influence, and was entering upon the struggle in which it was to be defeated. But while the spiritual life of the nation, so far as it was expressed in an outward organisation, was on the point of collapse, its mental activity had attained to the highest pitch yet reached in its history. It was the Golden Age of Scottish poetry, and will ever be memorable for the distinguished names that adorned it. The chief of these were William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, but they had as their immediate predecessors two men who call for remark. The first of

them was Blind Harry, who died about the year 1492. He was the author of the *Wallace*, which narrates in verse the life and deeds of the Scottish hero, and down until the time of Burns it continued to be the prime favourite of the Scottish peasantry. It had an enduring influence upon our national bard himself, 'pouring' into his veins, as he himself declares, 'a Scottish prejudice which will boil along there till the flood-gates of life shut in eternal rest.' Blind Harry is inferior to Barbour in culture, but he had the popular touch which made his work to be a favourite among the Scottish people. The second of the two men who heralded in the Golden Age was Robert Henryson, who died about the year 1506. His chief work is the *Morall Fabillis of Esope the Phrygian*. A recent critic has thus characterised the poems which make up this work. 'They stamp Henryson as a master of easy and fluent versification, a man of insight into character, and the possessor of the same wide and generous outlook upon men and life which are not the least among the many memorable excellencies of his model, Chaucer.'

The greatest name in Scottish poetry until the time of Robert Burns is held on all hands to be that of William Dunbar (1460-1520?). Chief among his works are *The Thistle and the Rose*, *The Goldyn Targe*, *The Freiris of Berwik*, *The Lament for the Makaris*, and *The Dance of the Seven deidly Synnis*. Most, if not all, of the qualities that go to make a great poet are found in the works of Dunbar, but to the student of the history of the Scottish people their chief value lies in the light which they throw upon the social condition of the times. In them we find 'king, queen, courtiers, churchmen, burgesses, depicted with a brutal frankness which in itself reflects the age, and assures of the essential truth of the portraiture.' Contemporary with Dunbar was Gavin Douglas (1475-1522?), a son of 'Bell-the-Cat.' He died Bishop of Dunkeld. His chief work is a translation into the Scots vernacular of Virgil's *Æneid*. That he should have chosen such a subject is held by certain

critics to be a proof of the influence of the Renaissance on Scottish thought and literature. Douglas is inferior to Dunbar in genius and in art. He appeals to the cultured few, while Dunbar appeals both to the few and to the many. Thanks to the invention of printing, the works of these poets were about to receive a wider circulation than was possible for those of their predecessors. The first press was established in Edinburgh in 1507, and Walter Chapman and Andrew Millar, who were the proprietors, will long be honourably remembered as the men who issued the first works printed in Scotland.

The Spanish agent, d'Ayala, who visited Scotland in 1496 and 1497, has left us his impression of people and country. 'The people,' he writes, 'are handsome. They like foreigners so much that they dispute with one another as to who shall have and treat a foreigner in his house. They are vain and ostentatious by nature. They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well dressed as it is possible to be in such a country as that in which they live. They are courageous, strong, quick, and agile. They are jealous to excess. The women,' he says, 'are courteous in the extreme. I mention this because they are really honest, though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their houses, and even of their husbands in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They are very graceful and handsome women; they dress much better than in England, especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world. There is as great a difference,' he adds, 'between the Scotland of old time and the Scotland of to-day as there is between good and bad.'

CHAPTER XXIII

JAMES V., 1513-1542

THE battle of Flodden made no change in the policy of Scotland ; the old alliance with France remained, and the same hostile spirit towards England continued to be manifested. A new age had, however, begun ; the spirit of the Renaissance and the Reformation was deeply to affect Scotland before the end of James v.'s reign, and to change its relations to both France and England. Meanwhile the country put itself in readiness to meet any emergency, and Edinburgh was fortified and strengthened to resist the attack which Surrey was expected to make. For the first time in its history it was surrounded by a wall, but, so far as imminent danger was concerned, the labour and expense were unnecessary. Surrey was too crippled to make any further advance, and Scotland was practically left unmolested. Immediate steps were taken by the Estates for the government of the country. They met at Stirling on the 21st September, and crowned the infant king. James had by his will made his wife Regent and guardian of his son.

Strife soon broke out. The Church was now being regarded as the legitimate prize of greedy nobles, who had either themselves or their kinsmen appointed to rich benefices ; it mattered not that they were laymen, ignorant and unworthy. Margaret's regency was not many weeks old when bitter disputes and feuds arose over ecclesiastical preferment, and those nobles who expected nothing from the queen invited John, Duke of Albany, the son of that Albany who had gambled for his brother James III.'s throne, to return from France and be Regent. The way for

this was prepared by a renewal of the alliance between the two countries, and by an agreement on the part of the French king that Albany should come to Scotland with men to defend her against England.

The wrath of Henry VIII. was roused, and he did everything in his power to prevent this policy from being carried out. The English Warden of the Marches ravaged the Borders, and Henry endeavoured to persuade both Louis and Margaret to prevent Albany from coming to Scotland. But the queen-regent soon showed her incapacity, and by her want of self-control lost any influence she ever had. On April 30, 1514, she gave birth to a posthumous son, and on the 6th August she married the young Earl of Angus, grandson of Bell-the-Cat. Two parties now contended for the chief place: that of Angus and Margaret on the one hand, and that of Hume and Arran on the other. The fight began over the appointment to the vacant see of St Andrews. The Humes nominated for the post John Hepburn, Prior of St Andrews, while Angus was determined that the place should be filled by his own relative, Gavin Douglas, the translator of Virgil. The Humes would seem to have had the best of it, but the strife continued until the Pope intervened and a compromise was made. Andrew Forman, the Bishop of Moray, who had during the reign of James IV. fished in many waters and always successfully, was made Archbishop of St Andrews; Gavin Douglas was appointed to the bishopric of Dunkeld, and the abbey of Coldingham was given to the youngest brother of Hume. Thus was the Church made the prey of greedy self-seekers, and the way in which its offices and property were gambled for was a sure forecast of the doom that was in store for it (1515).

Francis I. was now on the throne of France, and although it was for his interest to be at peace with England, he could not break off the old alliance with Scotland. Albany was accordingly despatched, and on the 17th May he entered Ayr harbour with a convoy of eight well-equipped ships.

He was a Frenchman in everything but blood ; he could speak neither Scots nor English, and, accustomed to the more luxurious life of France, he must have felt the reverse of comfortable in his new environment. He was passionate, and when in a fit of temper he would throw his bonnet into the fire. He set himself at once to master the situation, and succeeded by July 1515 in having himself appointed Regent and guardian of the two young princes. Margaret was forced to give up her children, and she and Angus fled across the Border, where she gave birth to a daughter, who afterwards became Lady Lennox and the mother of Darnley. Hume and Arran were crushed, the young Duke of Rothesay, James's posthumous son, died, and Albany was thus left in absolute control. Indeed, the prospect may have crossed his mind of being king himself one day, for all that stood between him and the throne was the young prince. He succeeded in pacifying discontented barons by a generous distribution of benefices, and thus the poor Church was made a tool in the party game that was being played.

King Henry was anything but satisfied with the new condition of affairs in Scotland, and it was his aim to disturb as far as he could the unity that prevailed. He stirred up strife by lavish bribes to Scottish nobles and others, and thus began the policy which reflects discreditably upon both countries ; for he who gives bribes is quite as unworthy as he who takes them. The Scottish nobles were poor, and many of them yielded too readily to the attraction of English gold. He also let loose his forces on the Borders, and made every attempt possible to coerce Scotland. Lord Hume, who was the most powerful noble in the country when Albany arrived, quarrelled with the Regent, and Albany distrusting him, had him beheaded, his brother suffering the same fate. The Humes took a speedy revenge, for Albany, on retiring to France (7th June 1517), for what he declared was to be a six months' holiday, but which extended to four years, left a friend of his own,

de la Bastie, behind him as Warden of the Marches. The Humes attacked, seized, and brutally murdered him, one of them riding in triumph with the unfortunate man's head hanging by its hair to his saddle. Albany appointed before his departure Forman and Beaton, the two archbishops, and the Earls of Huntly, Argyll, Angus, and Arran as Vice-Regents, but they could not keep the peace among themselves. The two most powerful of them, Angus and Arran, quarrelled openly, and it was a contest between their followers as to which was to be supreme. The fact that Margaret wished to divorce her husband would not seem to have had any influence either upon Angus or upon the people's opinion of him, for at this time the Douglasses were so powerful that 'none durst strive with a Douglas nor yet a Douglas's man.'

An occasion for testing the strength of the two houses presented itself in the year 1520 in Edinburgh, when both Angus and Arran came to the town to attend Parliament. A rumour spread that the Hamiltons, who were the more numerous, intended to slay all the Douglasses who were in the city, and Gavin Douglas, wishing to find the truth of this, asked James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, who was a strong supporter of Arran, if this were the case. 'Upon my conscience,' said Beaton, 'I know nothing of the matter,' and he struck his breast with his hand to show that he was honest in his reply. But as he did so, armour was heard to rattle under his bishop's dress. 'My lord,' then said Douglas, 'your conscience is not good, I heard it clatter.' The bishop told Angus that the rumour was true, and the earl, collecting his men, barricaded the closes and lanes where the Hamiltons lodged. On Arran's followers attempting to burst through, the fight began, and eight hundred horsemen, friends of Douglas, entering the town and rallying to the support of their chief, soon put the Hamiltons to flight. This fight is known as Clean the Causeway.

Albany returned to Scotland on the 19th November 1521.

However ineffective his rule may have been, he was certainly the only man who could bring a semblance of purpose into the government of the realm. Having come in the interests of France, he at once created a diversion in her favour. Angus and his friends, feeling that their hour of influence was gone, and that even their lives were in danger, crossed into England and solicited Henry's aid. The English king did all in his power to break the old alliance, but in vain. Albany retaliated by leading an army to the English Marches, but the Scottish earls who accompanied him would on no account invade England; they remembered Flodden. Albany, disappointed, sailed once more for France (25th October 1522). The English king endeavoured to make good his opportunity, and to establish by peaceful means his influence in Scotland; but all his overtures having been rejected, he let loose the dogs of war, and sent Surrey, the son of the English leader at Flodden, to organise a succession of raids. Henry had every confidence in his captain, whom he called the 'scourge of the Scots,' and with his two lieutenants, the veteran Dacre and the Marquis of Dorset, Surrey so made good his reputation that, according to Wolsey, 'there is neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man' on the Scottish side of the Borders. An attack by the English leader with nine thousand men was made on Jedburgh, which was burned, but the Scots, undismayed, resisted with such vigour that Surrey was forced to admit that they were the 'boldest men and the hottest that ever I saw in a nation.'

Henry's warlike measures had no more effect than his peaceful diplomacy, for on the very day that Jedburgh was burned Albany landed in Scotland (1523), and supported by French troops, he led a great army to the east Border. It was late autumn, and, according to George Buchanan, who was a volunteer with Albany, the army suffered severely from cold and wet. Wark castle was attacked unsuccessfully. The Scottish nobles once more refused to cross the Border, and Albany, hopeless of achieving any per-

manent good for Scotland, finally left for France (20th May 1524), never to return again. The Regent's contemporaries speak kindly of him, and whether or not his motives were mixed, as some allege, he certainly maintained the independence of the country against English aggression. But this he did probably as much in the interest of France as in that of Scotland itself. But no sooner was he away than Henry continued in earnest that policy which resulted in the creation of an English party in Scotland. He fostered it by bribery and corruption of the most shameless kind, but in a few years new conditions were to arise which could not fail to strengthen such a party. A forecast of the reasons which were to tell in this direction was given by Archbishop Beaton in compassing the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton. This did not take place until four years later (1528), but certainly one of the causes which originated and strengthened the English alliance was the hostility of the Stewarts to the Reformed faith.

The queen-mother and Arran took advantage of the departure of Albany and the absence of Angus, who was in France, to pursue a course of action which, if they had been strong enough to maintain it, would have kept them supreme during the remainder of the king's minority. Countenanced and supported by Henry, they brought James from Stirling to Edinburgh, and had him, although he was only in his thirteenth year, proclaimed King of Scots. But the return of Angus, and Margaret's own folly, brought misfortune upon this movement. The queen-mother had set her affections upon young Henry Stewart, son of Lord Evandale, whom she married after having divorced Angus (1527), and Angus himself, taking advantage of the situation, and supported by many of the nobility, gradually gained supreme power and control of the king. James chafed against his semi-imprisonment under the Douglasses, and favoured a scheme of the Earl of Lennox for his freedom; and Sir George Douglas, discovering James's wishes, declared that he 'would rather see

him torn to pieces ' than out of their hands. The young king never forgave this remark nor his treatment by the Douglasses, and when he gained his liberty he pursued them with an unrelenting vengeance which brought about the ruin of their house. It was in June 1528 that he escaped from their hands. The chiefs of the Douglasses being absent on business, he laid plans for his escape. He informed his guardian that as he wished to hunt next morning he would go early to bed. In the middle of the night he rose, dressed, slipped to the stables, where he found, as arranged, his two servants and three horses, the latter saddled and ready. All three rode as swiftly as their horses could carry them to Stirling castle, which they reached at daybreak. James was now seventeen, and the leading nobles and clergy, hearing of his escape, flocked to him in large numbers.

The king was but a youth when he undertook the management of his country's government, but he had all the precocity of the Stewarts, and his actions displayed as much maturity as those of his later years. He was physically strong and vigorous ; he was of middle height, and handsome in appearance, with a keen glance and a faculty for remembering faces. He was badly educated, could write English with difficulty, and was practically ignorant of French ; but he had good natural ability, and in a very short time became familiar with the laws and customs of his country. He set himself at once to be free of the Douglasses. Scotland, he vowed, could not hold him and them, and before the end of the year he compelled the heads of that house to seek safety across the Border. He lived to rue his severity, for that irreconcilable clan ceased not to plot against him, and to devise every possible scheme for compassing his ruin.

The condition of European politics mapped out the course which James had to pursue. The old alliance had to be adhered to, and distrust of England was to regulate his relations to that country. His first concern, however, was to bring peace within his own borders. The Highlanders

were again causing trouble, and the unruly clans in the south country were acting as if they were a law to themselves. It was to the men of the Borders that James first directed his attention. The Armstrongs, who occupied the Debateable Land, were making raids on the two sides of the Border (1526), pillaging both English and Scots with frank impartiality. By 1529 they boasted that they had burned fifty-two parish churches in Scotland, besides committing other depredations. James suspected that they were abetted by the great Border chiefs, Bothwell, Buccleuch, Maxwell, and others, whom he imprisoned. He then marched against the Armstrongs (1530) and summoned their leader, 'Johnnie Armstrong,' laird of Gilnockie, to his presence. On Armstrong, with forty-eight comrades, making his appearance, the king burst out, 'What wants yon knave that a king should have,' and caused them all to be hanged. This wholesome lesson, administered at Carlenrig, on the way to Langholm, had an immediate and salutary effect upon the unruly Borderers, and secured the peace of the district. But the nobles whom the king had imprisoned never forgave him, and, like the Douglasses, they waited an opportunity for having their revenge.

James next directed his attention to the Highlands. His father had won the confidence of the great Highland clans who loyally fought for him at Flodden, but after his death trouble sprang up. During the regency of Albany risings of various kinds took place in the Western Isles, and when the young king came to the throne, they had grown to such proportions as to demand immediate action. James followed the example of his father in mingling leniency with severity, and by a combination of tact and strictness he brought peace into the disturbed districts, and satisfied the quarrelling chiefs. But he alienated Argyll, as he had done Bothwell and the others, by his severe treatment. The earl had acted as lieutenant in the Western Islands, and James, believing that he had exceeded his commission, imprisoned him, and divested him of much of his authority.

Argyll remembered this, as James had good reason to know at a later day.

The young king had need of all the support that his nobles and people could give him, for a new force was appearing which called for the highest statesmanship. This was the Protestant Reformation. The movement which it heralded was one that could not be conquered by force of arms, although it would in the first instance unleash the bloodhounds of war. But the position of James was far from strong; he had alienated his nobles, he was at enmity with Henry VIII., he had thrown himself into the arms of the clergy, and leaned upon the Church, which was now on its trial. Its doom, indeed, was fixed, and from it the king could never secure either the counsel or the power to bring him successfully through the troubles he had to face.

It was at the beginning of James's reign that Luther stirred up Germany, and sounded the note of religious reform. The movement then started, spread with great rapidity, and quickly reached the shores of Scotland. Literature, in the shape of Bibles and tracts, was eagerly devoured by many of the people, and Parliament attempted in vain to suppress the movement. The Church took alarm, and in 1528, as already noted, condemned Patrick Hamilton for heresy, calling in the civil power to have him burned. This took place under Archbishop Beaton. Under his nephew David Beaton, who succeeded him in the Primacy, persecution became so active that in one year five men were burned. Acts against heretics were passed, and many escaped to England. James was too illiterate to appreciate the new movement to the full. By nature and training he was strongly attached to the Church. He would not change his faith, but had no objection to reform from within, and ever did his best to promote it. The deplorable condition of the Church and the clergy called for either reform or destruction, and pictures of the lives of the ecclesiastics, and of the abuses that prevailed, are set forth in the satire of

The Three Estates, by Sir David Lyndsay, who had been the king's own tutor. Henry VIII. had broken with the Pope, and it was in his interest to gain James over to the side of the reformed faith ; so he did everything in his power to induce the Scottish king to become a Protestant. For this end he sent representatives to the Scottish court, who argued eloquently with James without avail. Henry, knowing the Scottish king's need of money, pointed to the rich monasteries which he himself had despoiled, and counselled his nephew to do the same, telling him that he would find it much more profitable to do this than to sell wool. James would not be convinced. His decision in this matter meant suffering for his country, and in the end forced the best men in the nation to look to England for support in the religious and civil war that was impending.

State reasons now called for the marriage of the king. Henry offered the hand of his daughter Mary, but James inclined to France, and on the 1st of January 1537 he was married in Nôtre Dame, Paris, to Madeleine, third daughter of the French king. James landed with his bride at Leith on 19th May, but his young wife only survived a few months ; she died on the 7th July. James married for his second wife Mary of Lorraine, who, as after-events proved, was to become an important factor in the politics of Scotland. The Scottish king had thus bound himself to France, and the French influence which then began to prevail, and which increased after his death, became so formidable as to create the fear that the 'auld ally' had an eye on Scotland ; and this, with the spread of Protestantism, gave the needed impetus to the friendship with England. Another factor in moulding the events that led up to the catastrophe of James's reign was the rise of Cardinal Beaton. He was the most forceful statesman of his time in Scotland, and he used his great influence on behalf of France and against England. His policy was dictated by the danger which he saw to the Church in favouring Henry's views. It is possible, also, that he may have been influenced by that patriotism which

saw in any other policy the loss of his country's independence. Henry recognised in him the chief obstacle to his schemes, and sent the prudent and far-seeing Sadler to further the interests of England.

James, as we have seen, had brought peace into the Highlands, but an outbreak having taken place in the Western Isles, he made a voyage round them, which resulted in a peaceful settlement. He mingled leniency with severity, and put a final end to the pretensions of the chief of the clan Donald by attaching inalienably to the Crown the Lordship of the Isles and North and South Kintyre. The king, however, would seem to have had the knack of destroying with the one hand the good actions that he had performed with the other, for shortly after this successful expedition he caused to be put to death Hamilton of Finnart, and thus added to the number of the nobility who bore him an undying grudge. The Hamiltons did not forget what they must have regarded as the judicial murder of their kinsman.

The year 1541 is memorable for a tour which James and his queen made through Scotland. It was undertaken probably to divert their minds from the sorrow which they must have felt at the loss of their two infant sons. It was in this year also that he agreed to meet Henry at York, but owing to the influence of the clergy and the representations of France, James failed to put in an appearance. The breach between the two neighbouring countries was thus widened, and the train of events which led up to the disaster of Solway Moss was being steadily laid. Henry showed his disappointment and indignation by sending Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, the 'scourge of the Scots,' on a raiding expedition, and by claiming the suzerainty of Scotland. James gathered a large force of 36,000 men, and led them as far as Fala Moor. On hearing that Norfolk had retreated, he determined to follow him, but his nobles refused to cross the Border; they may have remembered Flodden, but they knew that the expedition was in the interests of

France rather than that of their own country. Besides, James had alienated their sympathy and loyalty, and by refusing to accompany him they showed that their resentment was deep.

The king now threw himself into the arms of the clergy, and they responded by gathering a force of 10,000 men. This James led as far as Lochmaben. His army crossed the Esk on 24th November 1542, and Sir Thomas Wharton, hearing of its advance, marched out from Carlisle with 3000 men to meet it. The two armies came face to face between the waters of the Leven and the Esk. James, probably on account of ill-health, had stayed behind at Lochmaben, and for some unexplained reason he had put no commander in his place. Confusion appeared among the Scottish ranks. Thereupon Sir Oliver Sinclair, one of James's favourites, declared that he had the king's commission to command the army; but the nobles, looking upon him as an upstart, refused to obey him. The Scots now began to retreat, and were finally driven into Solway Moss, from which the battle that took place takes its name. Only twenty were slain on the field, but many were drowned, and 1200 prisoners were taken, among them two earls, five barons, and 500 lairds and gentlemen.

This was the greatest disgrace that had ever befallen the Scottish arms, for James's army outnumbered the English by three to one. The Scottish leaders were evidently half-hearted, and it was the knowledge of this, perhaps, as much as the defeat itself which preyed upon the king. On learning the news of the disaster he set out for Edinburgh, and thence for Falkland, his favourite palace. The difficulties which were pressing upon him were evidently beyond his power to overcome. The anxieties and nervous strain of the last few years had undermined his strength, and the disgraceful defeat of his army at Solway Moss was the final blow to all his hopes. He lingered for a short time, and in his mental wanderings was heard to exclaim, 'Fie, fled Oliver,' the late disaster being ever

present with him. On his deathbed news was brought him that the queen had, at Linlithgow Palace, given birth to a daughter, the future Mary, Queen of Scots. He received the news with the saying that has become historical, 'It cam' wi' a lass, and it will gang wi' a lass,' referring to the fact that the house of Stewart came to the throne through Marjory, the daughter of Robert the Bruce, who had married the Steward of Scotland. So passed away James v., on 14th December 1542, in the thirtieth year of his age.

James v. possessed even in a higher degree than his father the gift of making himself popular with his people. He went among them in different disguises, and mingled freely with them in their social life. It was because of this that he was called 'the king of the Commons,' 'the Gaberlunzie King,' 'the Red Tod (Fox).' He was interested, also, in the sports and pastimes of his subjects, and he won their admiration by his personal courage and skill in the use of his weapons. He had a keen sense of justice, and one of the chief acts of his reign was, as we have seen, the founding of the College of Justice in 1532. Flodden, while a disaster to the nation, might have proved a blessing in disguise to the young king, for most of the leading nobles who, from their personal ambition and turbulent nature, might have proved a danger, were cut off. Had James been older when his father died, it is not at all unlikely that he might have seized the opportunity which fate put in his way, and governed the country with greater satisfaction to all classes. But his treatment during his minority by the nobility, and particularly by the Douglasses, made him distrustful of the aristocracy, and caused him to turn to churchmen for counsel and help. This in the end proved his undoing, for the policy which they advised him to follow was in opposition to that which the country, almost unconsciously, was beginning to favour. The king stubbornly stuck to the French alliance, and this was the course favoured by the Church, because it saw in the counter policy—an alliance with the English—an imminent

danger to itself. Henry VIII. had broken with the Pope, and had James allied himself with the English monarch, churchmen knew that the dissolution of the institution which supported them, and to which they were naturally attached, would speedily follow. All this was to happen, but the time was not yet. One of the most significant Acts of James's reign dealt with the Church itself. It shows that, notwithstanding persecution and burnings, the principles of the Reformation were beginning to prevail. This Act, which was passed in 1542, frankly accuses churchmen themselves of the troubles that were impending, the 'unhonesty and misrule of kirkmen both in evil knowledge and manners,' it declares 'to be the chief causes of being lychtlyit and contempnit.' James's reign fell far short of the intellectual brilliance of his father's. Three names, however, distinguish it: those of Hector Boece (d. 1536), John Major (d. 1550), and Sir David Lyndsay (d. 1555). The last was the Lyon King of Arms, and was a privileged person at court. He holds the mirror up to the times, and lashes with remarkable freedom the sins of churchmen and the failings of the Church. His *Satire of the Three Estates* is one of his chief works, and vividly illustrates the social condition of the people.

CHAPTER XXIV

QUEEN MARY—REGENCY OF ARRAN, 1542-1554

WITH the reign of Mary the history of the Scottish people enters upon its most interesting and most important stage. The feudal system which had dominated the country from the time of David I. came practically to an end in the reign of James IV., and during the time of James V. we see the beginning of the struggle between the old and the new, which was to end in the triumph of the latter. It was by this struggle that the Scottish people realised themselves, emerged from the stage of pupilage, so to speak, to that of full manhood, took that place in the government of the country which they have never since lost, and developed those traits of character which make their name so distinctive and representative. Scotland was hardly touched by the Humanistic movement which swept over Western Europe. It certainly imbibed the idea of freedom which formed an important factor in that movement. But it was the religious revolution known as the Reformation that chiefly affected Scotland, liberated its people from the thralldom of an alien and superstitious Church, and freed them at the same time from the hands of the nobility, who had, under the old feudal system, tyrannised over, rather than governed, the land.

The question which faced Scotland at the opening of the new reign was : Whether it should remain Catholic or become Protestant ? and bound up with this question was another : Whether it should adhere to the French alliance, or enter into friendship with England ? If it chose to remain true to France it would have to submit to the continued dominance of the Church ; while, on the other

hand, if it allied itself with England, which was now Protestant, it would necessarily have to accept the new religion. It was these questions, as fought out by diplomacy and armed force, that kept Scotland in a turmoil during the reign of Queen Mary. Victory in the end was achieved neither by diplomacy nor by force, but by the new ideas themselves, which took possession of the people, and caused them to demand their birthright of civil freedom and religious liberty. Scotland had gained little by the French alliance; on the other hand, wherever the Reformation had made its power felt, strife ensued. Nevertheless, the contention so produced invariably ended, where Protestantism was triumphant, in the emancipation of the people, and in the creation of an intellectual, religious, and progressive commonwealth.

The man who took the most active and influential part in the strife which these conflicting ideals provoked was Cardinal Beaton. He represented the Church and the French alliance. No sooner was James v. dead than he appeared with a forged will, in which he himself, and the Earls of Argyll, Moray, and Huntly, were named Governors. A Regent, however, had to be appointed, and the man chosen was James, second Earl of Arran and third Lord Hamilton, next, after Mary, to the throne. Beaton was evidently quite pleased with the selection of Arran, who was a weak man, and became as clay in his hands. The real enemy whom Beaton had to fight was Henry VIII., and between the two there ensued a series of diplomatic encounters, which proved them to have been well matched in those political arts which found favour in their day.

Henry's chief aim was to bring about a marriage between his son Edward, a boy of five years, and the infant Scottish queen. In order to further his designs, he sent back to Scotland the Earl of Angus, his brother Sir George Douglas, and the Scottish lords who had been captured at Solway Moss. They returned in the pay of Henry, and as 'assured

Scots' or 'English lords,' for so they were called, they endeavoured to further the English monarch's designs. No time was lost, for on January 27, 1543, Beaton was seized while sitting at the Council, and confined in the Earl of Morton's house at Dalkeith. An Act was passed negotiating the marriage, and a further Act authorising the use of the Bible in the vulgar tongue. The Regent Arran had Protestant leanings, and under the influence of the 'English lords' the new religion was evidently to have a chance in Scotland. The marriage-treaty was concluded in July at Greenwich, but the cup of Henry's joy was embittered by the Scots refusing to place Mary in his hands, and to break off the French alliance.

The triumph of the English party was short-lived; Beaton was now at large, and, with the help of French gold and a French fleet which appeared in Scottish waters, he put heart into his party, and marching with the Earls of Huntly, Lennox, Argyll, and Bothwell at the head of six thousand men, he besieged the palace of Linlithgow, where the young queen was living, forced Arran to terms, placed Mary in charge of four persons, two of whom were to be named by himself, removed her to Stirling (26th July), and caused her to be crowned in the chapel of the castle. So complete was the cardinal's triumph, that Arran made public penance for his apostasy from Mother Church. Not content with these successes, Beaton, at a Parliament held on 3rd December, caused Acts to be passed which broke the marriage-treaty, renewed the French alliance, framed fresh and more stringent laws against heretics, and made himself Lord Chancellor of the kingdom.

Whatever the cardinal's successes may have been in the diplomatic encounters which he had with Henry and with the English party, he proved himself unable to cope with the new religious ideas which were beginning to spread over many parts of Scotland. The corruptions of the Church, besides, were so patent and notorious, that the common people were ready to lay their hands upon its

fabrics, and the nobility upon its lands and possessions. In place of mending itself, it attempted to end Protestantism, and believed that the speediest and most effective way of doing this was to put its votaries to death. No time, accordingly, was lost in enforcing the new Act against heretics. In January 1544 a victim was martyred at Dundee, and the same fate befell three men and one woman at Perth. The men were beheaded, the woman was drowned. She had a child in her arms, which she handed over to an attendant. Her feet and arms were then bound, after which she was thrown into a pool. The cardinal may have thought all this to have been an additional triumph, but it proved in the end to be his undoing. Meanwhile he advanced from one victory to another; his final achievement was signalised by the submission of the 'English lords' Angus, Lennox, Glencairn, and Cassillis, who, having gathered a force at Leith, were compelled to yield, and 'to take a part in the defence of Scotland.'

Henry's rage was unbounded. On Sunday, 5th May 1544, an English fleet, carrying a strong force under Hertford, appeared off Newhaven, in the Firth of Forth. Edinburgh was entered, taken, and burned, the castle alone remaining in the hands of the Scots. Holyrood House was also burned. The fire lasted for three days; and within a circuit of five miles the English soldiers devastated at will. Both Arran and the cardinal evidently thought discretion to be the better part of valour, for on the appearance of the English fleet they fled from the Castle to Linlithgow. After the fashion of the times, Henry's army on their return pillaged every town and village through which they passed between Edinburgh and the Borders. Success made the English generals insolent; they began to portion out lands on the Scottish side of the Border among their friends. On hearing of this, the Scots assembled in force, and drawing the English to Ancrum Moor, inflicted on them a severe defeat (27th February 1545). Henry, whose policy was rather to punish the Scots than to subdue

them, now offered terms of peace, but their recent success so elated Arran and his advisers, that the English king's proposals were contemptuously refused. The arrival of a French fleet in May, with three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, still further stiffened the resolution of the Scots. Along with their allies, they immediately marched to the Border, but what was intended to be a formidable invasion ended in a miserable failure. Once more the Scots and French proved sorry allies on Scottish soil, and very few of those who had crossed the North Sea found their way back to their fatherland. Henry took a terrible revenge. Hertford was again dispatched at the head of a strong force of mixed nationalities, and before his work was ended he had destroyed 5 market towns, 243 villages, and 16 fortified places, and burned the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Roxburgh, and Coldingham.

The cardinal's successes probably blinded him to the consequences of the action that he was now contemplating, which was none other than the destruction of the famous George Wishart. He had partially triumphed over the English party, but he felt that his victory would not be complete unless he crushed those who were advocating the new religious ideas which threatened the overthrow of the ancient Church. The representative of the Protestant movement in the country was, for the time being, George Wishart, a man of apostolic spirit, learned, eloquent, and absolutely devoted to the cause which he had at heart. Driven out of Scotland in 1538, he returned some years later, in the company of certain of the leaders of the 'English lords,' and although he must have known the risk he was running, he boldly preached the doctrines of the new faith in Montrose, Dundee, and Ayrshire. Last of all, he appeared at Haddington, where he won the adherence of John Knox, his immediate successor, who went before him with the two-handed sword, 'which commonly was carried with the said Master George.' Beaton felt that a man of Wishart's power and influence should on no account be allowed to move freely

about the country. He accordingly, with the aid of Bothwell, who was the feudal lord of the district, had Wishart seized, and securely placed in his hands at St Andrews (16th January 1546). A few weeks afterwards, on the 1st March, Wishart sealed his testimony in front of Beaton's own castle.

The cardinal for once made a blunder ; his own life had for some time been in danger, and this cruel deed gave the spur to the resolution of those who finally compassed his destruction. Henry VIII. had listened to suggestions which had for their object the assassination of Beaton, and he clearly indicated that it would be for the good of Scotland, the glory of God, not to speak of his own personal benefit, to have the hated cardinal out of the way. There were various reasons why Beaton should be surrounded with bitter enemies. He was the supporter of a policy hated by many, and of a Church that was sick almost to death. He was, besides, ambitious and avaricious, and the possessor of patronage which he dispensed among his own favourites. Conscious of the dangers that threatened him, he strongly fortified his castle at St Andrews, and felt quite secure. But on the morning of 29th May 1546 a number of bold and desperate men, among whom were Norman Leslie, the eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, and William Kirkcaldy, son of Sir James Kirkcaldy, the late Treasurer of the kingdom, found their way into the castle, surprised the cardinal in his bedroom, and stabbed him to death. When the citizens of St Andrews looked at the castle on the morning of that May day they saw the dead body of the great cardinal hanging from its walls.

Beaton has found champions and defenders, who hold him to have been the ablest statesman and the greatest patriot of his time, the only man who could cope successfully with Henry VIII. and preserve the independence of his country. Grant his ability and success, we cannot overlook the fact that he blundered. He lacked the foresight of the great statesman and the unselfish spirit of a true patriot. To

have bolstered up the old Church, and to have placed Scotland under the heel of France, would have meant the ultimate and perhaps speedy destruction of his country. The truth is that Beaton was a worldly churchman, who placed his Church above his country, and himself above his Church. He lived like a prince, and yet had no generous princely instincts. He encouraged neither art nor literature, and his own immoral life afforded an example of evil rather than of good, and hastened instead of retarding the ruin of the Church which he cherished. The mixed feelings of relief at his removal, and of regret at the method of accomplishing it, found expression in Sir David Lyndsay's well-known lines :—

‘But of a truth, the sooth to say,
Although the loon was well away,
The deed was foully done.’

No time was lost by the authorities in supplying the place left vacant by the death of Beaton. Lord Huntly was made Chancellor, and the dead man's hand still guided the policy of the country in opposing the English alliance. On 10th June the Estates met and passed Acts which declared the murderers of Beaton guilty of treason, and which also made arrangements for the taking of the castle of St Andrews. In January of the following year, 1547, Henry died. Both Scotsmen and Englishmen must now join in a whole-hearted condemnation of the ruthless and foolish policy which he adopted towards Scotland. His conduct was outrageous, for it had no far-reaching ideas behind it. It was like the splenetic outburst of a thwarted child. Because Scotland would not accept his proposals, offered, it must be admitted, in an insulting way, he retaliated by organising a series of invasions which, in their futile cruelty, are more to be deplored than those of the War of Independence. Had he shown a conciliatory spirit, and exercised patience, he would probably have gained his object in the marriage of his son to the young Scottish queen; but his fury and cruelty quickened the

pride and stirred the resentment of the Scottish people. This balked him of his purpose, and threw them into the arms of France.

In April of this year the Castilians, as they were called, received a fresh and notable accession in John Knox, who, pursued from one part of the country to another, sought safety, as others had done, in the castle of St Andrews. Arran had made little headway in reducing that stronghold, and, despairing of accomplishing his purpose, he appealed for aid to France. The Castilians were prepared to give up the castle on the condition of absolution from Rome, and a guarantee that no one was to suffer in person or property. Dissatisfied with the terms offered, they still held out. However brave they may have been, they appeared to Knox, who had been set apart as a preacher, to be, from the moral point of view, a very unworthy body, and he spoke plainly to them of their iniquities. France responded, and her trained engineers, under the command of Leo Strozzi, soon reduced the stronghold, which capitulated on the 21st July. The conditions of surrender were that the lives of the Castilians were to be spared, that they should be taken to France, serve its king, or go to any other country but their own. These assurances were speedily violated, for all the gentlemen among them were shut up in French prisons, and the others, of whom Knox was one, were made galley slaves.

The policy of England towards Scotland suffered no change by the death of Henry. Hertford, who was now Duke of Somerset, marched north with a force of 18,000 men, and at Pinkie, on Saturday, 10th September, henceforth known as 'black Saturday,' inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Scots. Fifteen hundred prisoners were taken, and 10,000 were slain. The English losses were trifling. Somerset set himself at once to reduce the neighbouring country, and made Haddington the centre of his operations. Scotland once more appealed to France, and in June 1548 a French fleet appeared in the Forth, bringing 6000 men to

the relief of Scotland. Such an appeal was what the French king and his advisers desired. Henry II. was king, and his two chief advisers were the queen-mother's brothers, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine. They now saw their opportunity of making Scotland a province of France, and through D'Oysel, the French ambassador, the conditions on which France would aid Scotland in driving out the English were made known. These were, that Mary should be taken to France for safety, and that she should marry the Dauphin. The Estates with 'ane voice' gave their consent. The young queen was taken in July to Dumbarton, and from thence she sailed to France, which she reached on the 13th August. When Henry II. heard that she had landed in his kingdom, he exclaimed, 'France and Scotland are now one country.'

The French set themselves to drive out the English, and other interests called Somerset from directing the operations of his army in Scotland. The treaty of Boulogne (1550) finally freed Scotland of English troops, and left the influence of France supreme. It was now that the Scots began to have misgivings. Even those who hated the English most felt that in favouring the French alliance they were risking the independence of their country. For it became daily clearer that the object of Henry II. and the queen-mother was to make Scotland an appanage of France. The old incompatibility of temper between the two peoples again showed itself, and quarrels with fatal results took place between the Scottish and French soldiers. The queen-mother thought it prudent to send as many of her countrymen as she could spare back to France, keeping only such as were necessary for manning the garrisons. She now made a strong bid for the regency herself, and visited France with this object (1550), taking a number of the nobility with her. A liberal supply of French gold disarmed the opposition of some and gained the support of others. She returned the following year, visiting the English court on the way. She induced Arran to yield place to her by bribing him with the

Duchy of Châtelherault, promising at the same time the command of the Scottish Guard to his son. She gained her object, and on the 12th April 1554 she became Regent of Scotland. Her success was a shock and a surprise to the people, for to have a woman as Regent was a thing unheard of in Scottish history.

French dominance appeared to be now realised. The new Regent set herself at once to carry out her scheme of making Scotland a province of France by a drastic redistribution of the great offices of state. Scotsmen were replaced by Frenchmen, and she chose as her chief adviser D'Oysel, the French ambassador. The ruin of Huntly, the Lord Chancellor, was compassed the same year. He was commissioned, along with Argyll, to put down a rising in the Highlands, and being suspected of treason, he was shorn of his earldoms of Mar and Moray, confined in Edinburgh castle, and banished from the kingdom. On the payment of a large sum of money he obviated the last penalty, but another Frenchman, De Roubay, was appointed virtual Chancellor, Huntly's position being merely nominal.

Signs, however, were not wanting that the limit of the patience and submission of the Scottish people had been reached. The Regent and her countrymen were being freely spoken of in anything but complimentary terms. A concession to national feeling was therefore necessary, so certain of those who were involved in the murder of Beaton were allowed to return to Scotland; and, to prepare for dealing effectively with a rising, which seemed more than probable, she proposed that a standing army should be established, and that its support should be met by a permanent tax. This was more than the Scottish nobility could stand, and the scheme had to be abandoned. Scotland and England were now at peace, but it was in the interests of France that they should be at war. Spain and England were closely allied through the marriage of Philip, the Spanish monarch, with Mary Tudor. The Regent, accordingly, was incited to avert any danger that might

threaten France through this combination, by embroiling the Scots with the English. The leading men in the country would listen to no such proposal. They knew her object, and they probably remembered Flodden. In view of such national feelings, and of the possible miscarriage of their scheme of making Scotland an appanage of France, the advisers of the French king urged the speedy marriage of the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots. Should this be accomplished, they thought, all would be well. The ceremony accordingly took place, with unprecedented pomp, in Nôtre Dame, on 24th April 1558. Scotland was represented by nine commissioners, four of whom died on their way home, the French being suspected of having poisoned them. The Estates, afraid lest the liberty of the country should be compromised, insisted on the ancient laws, liberties and privileges of Scotland being observed by both princes, naming, in the event of Mary dying childless, the Duke of Châtelherault as her successor to the throne. The commissioners did not know that the young queen was induced to sign a private treaty to the effect that in the event of her leaving no heir Scotland should be handed over as a free gift to the French king.

CHAPTER XXV

QUEEN MARY—REGENCY OF MARY OF LORRAINE, 1554-1561

THE movement which was soon to develop into a revolution that made a breach with the past, and to launch the nation on a new era of progress, would appear up to this point to have been inspired and regulated by kings and diplomatists. We now enter on the stage in which the convictions and feelings of the people come to the surface, and direct the course of events towards the crisis which resulted in the creation of modern Scotland. Carlyle once declared that what he desired to know in any great movement was not what rulers said or did, but what the people felt. The age, unfortunately, produced few, if any, familiar memoirs, but enough remains to show that it was the commons of Scotland who in the end took this great matter into their own hands, and accomplished the civil and religious revolution of the sixteenth century, the greatest and most vital event in Scottish history. The people's share in the political side of the Revolution is seen in their dread of France and in their hatred of Frenchmen, which found expression in hard knocks. In the *Complaynt of Scotland*, and in the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of the Wedderburns, we find their interest in its religious aspect, and in the *Beggars' Summons*, which purports to be the production of the commonalty, we find that their minds had been seriously engaged on its social and economic significance. The people were clearly awakening, thinking out the whole situation for themselves, and preparing for action when the moment should arrive. The patriotism of the nation only required the spiritual quickening which the Protestant faith was about to give it.

The movement for the reform of the Church had made great progress during the previous decade. From the year 1546 down to the period with which we are dealing, Acts, both of Parliament and of the Provincial Council of the Church, were passed, which give clear proof of this. From them we find that the 'rascal multitude' had already begun to lay their hands upon ecclesiastical edifices; that Lutheran heresies were fast spreading; that ballads, songs, and blasphemous rhymes ridiculing the Church were passing from mouth to mouth. The authorities endeavoured to stem the tide by censuring the clergy for their conduct, and placing in their hands a new Catechism by Archbishop Hamilton for the instruction of the people. It was also thought that an example might act as a warning, and so Adam Wallace was burned; but all in vain. The flames of Smithfield drove into Scotland Protestant preachers, such as Harlow and Willock, who expounded the doctrines of the new faith, and so great was the progress made that John Knox ventured from Geneva (1555) to Edinburgh, where he preached with marked effect, visiting Forfarshire and Ayrshire as well. Knox, after nineteen months' slavery in the French galleys, went to England, where he was welcomed by the Government of Edward VI. He held important posts in the Church of England, made his influence felt in various ways, and was offered a bishopric, which he declined. When the persecutions under Mary Tudor broke out, he retired to Frankfort, where he ministered to the English congregation, going subsequently to Geneva. He now occupied a leading place in the counsels of the Protestant party, and he was soon to head and to put life into the movement which ended in the destruction of the Romish Church, and the establishment of Protestantism in Scotland.

Knox on this occasion only stayed ten months in his native country, but he left behind him a number of men, who shortly afterwards banded themselves together, and made the revolution that was about to take place a possibility. Chief among them was James Stewart, a natural

son of James v. and afterwards Earl of Moray, Earl Marischal, Earl of Glencairn, and Erskine of Dun. A religious 'band' or 'covenant' was signed, the first of its kind, in December 1557, and the 'Lords of the Congregation,' as they were now called, let it be publicly known that what they aimed at was the reform of the old Church, and liberty to worship according to their consciences. A petition to this effect having been presented to the Regent, she replied by causing Walter Mill, a man of 'decrepit age' to be burned at St Andrews (28th April 1558). The people showed their indignation at this act by refusing to sell to Mill's executioners 'a cord to bind him to the stake or a tar barrel to burn him.' And to prove their contempt for the Church and its representatives, the populace mobbed the clergy of St Giles, Edinburgh, seized the image of that saint, and dashed it to the ground. These were signs of the coming storm, and the heads of the Protestant party gave full warning to the Regent that unless their demands were granted, they would be wrested from her by violence.

The death of Mary Tudor and the accession of the Protestant Elizabeth to the English throne gave the needed impetus to the religious movement in Scotland, while at the same time it quickened the ambition of the Guises, for they regarded Elizabeth as illegitimate, and maintained that Mary, Queen of Scots, was the rightful heir to the English throne. They accordingly caused the arms of England to be quartered with those of Scotland and France. But all such hopes were doomed to disappointment, for the growing hatred of France and the progress of the new religion made the freedom of Scotland from French supremacy only a matter of time.

Reference has already been made to the remarkable document known as the 'Beggars' Summons,' which on the 1st of January 1559 was posted on the door of every religious establishment in the country. It was a fierce indictment against the Church and clergy. It was a striking and significant paper, purporting to be from 'the blind, crooked,

beggars, widows, and all other poor'; accusing the clergy of having 'falsely stolen the wealth given by the pious for the service of the poor,' and concluding with a threat: 'We have thought good therefore to warn you, that you remove forth from our said hospitals betwixt this and the feast of Whitsunday, certifying you if ye fail we will at the said term in whole number, with the help of God and assistance of his saints on earth, of whose ready support we doubt not, enter and take possession of our said patrimony, and eject you utterly forth of the same. Let him, therefore, that before hath stolen steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpful to the poor.' The tone of this document is sufficiently revolutionary, and that it was not written in the spirit of bravado merely is seen from the fact that the menace with which it concludes was fulfilled almost to the letter. It was, moreover, based upon solid facts. The wealth of the Church was enormous; it was equal to half of that of the whole kingdom. The avarice, luxury, and immorality of the higher clergy were a scandal. The priests, both regular and secular, were notoriously ignorant, and the Church as a whole had descended to a sad depth of degradation. While the clergy neglected their duties, they did not forget to demand those exactions from the poor to which the law entitled them, and the rich had to complain of the protracted processes in the Consistorial Courts which taxed both their pockets and their patience.

One more effort was made through the queen-regent to avert the blow which threatened the Church. A Provincial Council, the last to be held, met on the 1st March, and if good resolutions could have saved the Church, it would have survived the storm. But it was too late, the seeds of corruption were too deeply rooted. If Mary of Lorraine thus with the one hand strove to reform the old Church, she with the other attempted to put down the new one that was striving to take its place. The Protestant preachers were forbidden to preach, and Easter was to be observed

after the usual manner. On this order being disobeyed, the queen-regent summoned the preachers to her presence. The Protestants in alarm made a representation to her through the Earl of Glencairn and Sir Hew Campbell, Sheriff of Ayr. To them she replied in memorable words: 'In despite of you and of your ministers both, they shall be banished out of Scotland, albeit they preach as truly as ever did St Paul.' On having her previous promises recalled, she replied in words that have become historical: 'It became not subjects to burden their princes with promises further than it pleased them to keep the same.' At last the die was cast, and the preachers were summoned to appear at Stirling on 10th May 1559.

The leaders of the Protestant movement were not unprepared for the crisis that had now arrived. Many of the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns with their followers gathered without armour at Perth in readiness for any emergency. A contingent joined them from Dundee, among whom was John Knox, who had returned to his native land on 2nd May. It was the object of the Protestants to act constitutionally. John Erskine of Dun was accordingly sent to make representations to the queen-regent, but in the teeth of the promises which she made to him, she shortly afterwards proclaimed the preachers to be outlaws. This was a serious breach of faith on the part of Mary of Lorraine which was not forgotten. Knox replied with a counterblast. The day after the proclamation he preached a sermon in the parish church of Perth against the idolatries of Rome. At its close, a priest in contempt attempted to celebrate the mass. Among the audience was a young boy, who rebuked the priest for thus violating the word of God. The latter 'struck the child a great blow, who in anger took up a stone, and casting at the priest did hit the tabernacle and broke down an image, and immediately the whole multitude that was about cast stones and put hands to the same tabernacle and to all other monuments of idolatry.' That was the beginning of a general attack on

the religious houses of Perth, and the 'rascal multitude,' as Knox calls them, rejoicing in the opportunity of riot which the occasion gave them, very soon demolished the three most notable ecclesiastical buildings in the city. So thorough was the work of destruction, that only the walls remained of those glorious buildings.

The quarrel could only now be settled by the sword, and both sides began to gather their forces. The Protestants justified themselves on the plea that the State was in peril. The Church, for instance, on its own admission, was corrupt beyond redemption, and the kingdom was in danger of the dominance of France. Negotiations took place between the Protestant leaders and the queen-regent, and the former agreed to leave the city of Perth, on condition that she should quarter no French troops in the town, and that perfect freedom of worship should be granted. It was evidently not in Mary of Lorraine to be true to her word. She kept the terms of the agreement in the letter, but not in the spirit, and her harsh treatment of the Protestants in the city made the Lord James Stewart and Argyll, who were with her, so indignant that they left her and joined the Protestants at St Andrews. There, again, Knox lifted up his voice against the idolatry of Rome and the great churches of that city were also shorn of their images and their ornaments. The queen-regent marched as far as Cupar Muir, but was unable, because of the strength of her opponents, to advance farther. Negotiations again took place between the two hostile parties, and a hollow peace was patched up. Each side was marking time, and both were looking for help, the queen-regent to France, the insurgents to England. It was now that the English party found their opportunity. The religious revolution solved the political situation, and joined Scotland and England in a common cause. The first step was now taken in the formation of the union of the two countries.

The Protestants were masters of Perth, Dundee, and St

Andrews ; they soon reached Stirling, and the queen-regent was driven to seek shelter in Dunbar. The insurgents then marched to Edinburgh, but they had not been long in the capital when elements of weakness began to appear in their ranks. The Scots were never accustomed to remain long in the field, and the number of those who supported Knox and the Lords of the Congregation began to grow alarmingly smaller. The Regent's troops, led by D'Oysel, marched, on the 23rd of July, to Leith, which the Protestants found it impossible to take. Negotiations again took place, and the insurgents agreed to leave Edinburgh and retire to Stirling. Knox at this juncture was dispatched to England for the purpose of gaining the support of Elizabeth's government. The only fruit which his mission for the time being bore was a letter from Cecil containing the eminently practical advice, Rob the monasteries, and sufficient funds will thereby be secured for paying the expenses of the revolution. Elizabeth could do nothing at this juncture, for the majority of her subjects were still Roman Catholics, and she could not countenance subjects in revolt against their lawful prince. But circumstances in the end were too strong for her, and she was driven to render aid to the Scots. The first substantial token of English help came with Sir Ralph Sadler, who was commissioned to make arrangements with the Protestant leaders, and to hand to them the sum of £3000 for judicious distribution. The queen-regent's forces were at this time strengthened by a thousand soldiers from France, who set themselves to fortify Leith in earnest. The Protestants, marching from Stirling to Edinburgh, besieged it in vain. They were forced to retire again to Stirling. Their fortunes now seemed desperate, but Knox, whose voice 'put more life into those who heard him than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in their ears,' preached a sermon, one result of which was the practical resolve to call a council of the Congregation, at which it was determined to send Maitland of Lethington to England to win over Elizabeth

to their cause. This decision was the turning-point in the fortunes of the Protestants.

D'Oysel, taking advantage of the weakened condition of the insurgents, drove them out of Stirling and pursued them to Fife ; he even approached within six miles of St Andrews. But the first fruits of Maitland's diplomacy were now gathered. On 23rd January 1560 a fleet was seen in the Firth of Forth. The French took it to be the one expected from their own country, but they speedily discovered that the vessels were English. D'Oysel beat a hasty retreat towards Stirling. The country rose up behind him, and he was hotly pursued by those who had suffered so harshly at his hands. He did not rest until he reached Linlithgow, and did not feel himself safe until he found shelter behind the fortifications of Leith. Another and even more important result of Maitland's mission was a meeting which took place at Berwick on 27th February between Commissioners from the Congregation and the Duke of Norfolk, at which a treaty was concluded. The agreement entered into was one of mutual defence against France. The immediate result of this treaty was the dispatch of an English army to Scotland, and the queen-regent, disappointed in promised assistance from France, retired to Leith. On the 4th April the English and Scottish armies joined at Prestonpans, and two days afterwards they made ready to besiege Leith. Their attempt to penetrate the fortifications of that town was unsuccessful ; they were repulsed with considerable loss. Although the allied armies numbered 10,000, and that of the queen-regent only 4000, still hers were trained troops. In a sally which they made they killed 200 of the besiegers, and the English and Scots in a subsequent assault lost 800 men.

But the patience of all three parties was becoming exhausted, and the death of the queen-regent in the castle of Edinburgh on 10th June gave the occasion for negotiating terms of peace. The portrait which Knox draws of Mary of Guise is by no means flattering. ' Unhappy from the first day that she entered into the kingdom unto the day she

departed this life,' is his judgment. But one cannot help thinking that if she was blameworthy she was also misguided and unfortunate. Her attachment to her own family was so strong that she governed Scotland in their interests. If she had thought less of her brothers and more of her own daughter she would have managed the affairs of the nation very differently. She alienated from herself not only the Protestants, but every rank and section of the people, by making Scotland a dependency of France. To serve her own ends she allowed the Congregation to grow in numbers and in influence, and to serve her own ends again she tried to destroy them. One cannot help a feeling of regret for her, a foreign princess and a widow surrounded by a nobility who were dominated by strong and undisciplined passions. She had tact and diplomacy, and was not without kindness of heart, but her ideal was false. She herself suffered for her errors, and left a heritage of woe for her daughter.

Commissioners arrived on the 16th of June from France and England, for the purpose of drawing up terms of agreement. A settlement was reached on the 6th of July, and by it Mary and Francis were to cease using the arms of England. The French were to leave Scotland, the fortifications of Leith were to be demolished, a Parliament was to assemble on the 10th July, and all its Acts were to be as legal as if it were presided over by the queen herself. It was an important treaty, and those who regard it as the central point in Scottish history are probably right. It laid the foundation on which was afterwards built the edifice of Scottish nationality as we now know it. The people had asserted their just rights in the face of every opposition, and the religious spirit which animated them was chiefly responsible for the success of the revolution. The nation also now entered into peaceful relations with England. The old enmity may have still slumbered, but the interests of both countries were now seen to lie not in strife but in concord.

No time was lost in putting the main clause of the treaty into force. On the 15th of July the French sailed from Leith, and almost immediately thereafter the English left for their own country. The Scots having thus secured freedom for action, it is interesting to note the way in which they exercised it. They at once set themselves to settle the religious question which lay at the root of every other. They took immediate steps for the ordering of the Church. The first thing to be done was to distribute such ministers as there were over the country. The chief cities and towns were first supplied; five superintendents were also nominated. Instructions were given to the ministers 'to draw up in plain and several heads the sum of the doctrine which they would maintain, and which they desired the present Parliament to establish.' The task was willingly undertaken, and within four days they prepared a Confession of Faith, which was accepted without alteration of any one sentence. The Parliament to which this Confession was presented was by far the largest and most important which had assembled for years. Many who had a right to vote were present for the first time within seventy years. They were the smaller barons and lairds and representatives of the burghs, and their presence was an indication of the larger representation of the Scottish people that would in the coming years, through the new birth in which they had participated by the revival of religion, be found in the national Parliament.

The Confession of Faith, which Knox, with the assistance of his five colleagues, John Wynram, John Spottiswoode, John Willock, John Douglas, and John Row, prepared, was publicly read, first in audience of the Lords of Articles, and afterwards in audience of the whole Parliament. The doctrine of the Confession was unanimously approved of, and ratified by the whole body of the Estates (8th August 1560). Three Acts were subsequently passed, which put an end to the old Church in Scotland. The first abolished the jurisdiction of the Pope; the second condemned every

doctrine and practice contrary to the new Confession of Faith ; and the third prohibited the celebration of the mass in Scotland. Penal statutes were enacted against any who should violate these Acts. For the first offence the punishment was confiscation ; for the second, exile ; and for the third, death. One, at the first glance, sees little of the spirit of the Evangel in these penalties. But Christendom in the sixteenth century had no notion of toleration as we understand it. The reformers everywhere conceived the State as a divine institution, which was bound to defend the true religion and to punish those who made any attempt to subvert it. But the remarkable fact is, that these laws were seldom, if ever, put into execution. No one, for instance, was put to death by the Scottish reformers for acting contrary to the new religion.

Scotland, compared with the other countries of Western Europe, has an enviable record, so far as religious persecution is concerned. Even under the old Church the number of martyrs is insignificant when we think of what happened in other countries. The revolution itself was accomplished with comparatively little bloodshed, and after the new faith became established, toleration was generally practised. One has only to think of the Peasants' War in Germany, of the fires of Smithfield in England, of the wholesale burnings at Valladolid by Philip II. of Spain, and of the Massacre of St Bartholomew in France, to feel both satisfaction and pride at the moderation of the Scots, and the comparatively peaceful settlement of their civil and religious quarrel. We have in this a striking illustration of the old ballad, in which Douglas speaks of himself as a ' kindly Scot.' The author may have meant the kinship or clannishness which even at so early a date distinguished the North Briton. But we are justified in seeing in the phrase that spirit of moderation which was exemplified in the revolution of 1560, and has since been frequently illustrated in the history of the country. The Scot is logical in thought, but illogical in practice. Should his conceptions point to harsh

deeds which might result in torrents of blood he usually hesitates, at all events if the victims are to be his own kith and kin. Mr. Hill Burton, in an interesting chapter in the *Scot Abroad*, deals luminously with this aspect of Scottish character, and Mr. Hume Brown sums up the tenor of his remarks as follows : ' In France and Spain men forgot the ties of blood and country in the blind fury of religious zeal, but in Scotland we do not find town arrayed against town, and neighbour denouncing neighbour on the ground of a different faith. That this tolerance was not due to indifference the religious history of Scotland amply proves. It was in the convulsions attending the change of the national faith that the Scottish nation first attained to a consciousness of itself, and the characteristics it then displayed have remained its distinctive characteristics ever since. It is precisely the combination of a fervid temper with logical thinking and temperate action that have distinguished the Scottish people in all the great crises of their history.'

The new Church was still without a constitution. The ministers were accordingly instructed to draft one. They lost no time in completing their labours, and on the 15th January 1561 they presented to the Estates their 'Book of Discipline.' No work since published in Scotland outweighs in interest and value this production of Knox and his colleagues. The Church had already received and accepted a Creed, and this famous book supplied it with a scheme of Church government. It also dealt with the subject of education and the relief of the poor. Nothing could be more statesmanlike than the way in which these important matters were to be dealt with, and had Parliament accepted the sweeping proposals, educational and social reform would have been anticipated by fully three hundred years. The crucial point was reached when the question was asked, where the money was to be procured for these different schemes. The reply of the Reformers was, the patrimony of the Church. Here were funds large enough to meet every claim. The revenues of the disestablished Church

were enormous, and Knox and those who acted with him proposed that this wealth should be nationalised and devoted to the support of a national Church, and a national system of education, and to making ample provision for the poor. The Estates received these proposals with divided feelings. To have accepted the Book of Discipline would have meant the disgorging by many of the nobility of the Church lands which they had appropriated. The Scottish nobles were actuated by mixed motives in the part which they played against the ancient Church. They were more in love with its patrimony than with the new faith which was to supplant the old one. 'Everything,' said Knox, 'that was repugnant to their corrupt affections was termed in their mockage "devout imaginations."' The Book of Discipline was never approved of by the Estates. Knox denounced the barons as 'merciless devourers of the patrimony of the Church.' 'Nothing,' he cried, 'can suffice a wreche'; and again, 'The belly has no ears.' Still the book, although it never became law, was an inspiration and an influence, holding before the country an ideal which it has since striven to realise. A liturgy had to be provided, and so the Reformer prepared his 'Book of Common Order,' which remained in force and in use in the Church for nearly a hundred years, until it was supplanted by what is commonly called 'Laud's Liturgy,' which, however, received short shrift. One might view without regret the indignant refusal of the Scottish people to accept that liturgy, but unfortunately with its rejection there fell into disuse Knox's Book of Common Order, and the Church of Scotland has, from that day till now, been without an authorised Prayer Book.

A change was soon to come over the spirit of the country, for the young Queen of Scots was about to return to her native land. Her husband, Francis II., died on the 5th December 1560, and being no longer Queen of France, she naturally came back to Scotland to assume her position as its rightful sovereign. Had she been born fifty years

earlier she might have found her new environment more to her mind, but the religious revolution had changed the tone and character of the people, created the Commons, and introduced into Scotland a sobriety and even seriousness of outlook, which were more or less alien to her temperament. She had, besides, spent most of her life in France, where she was educated and trained by her uncles, who were anything but Scottish in mind or habits. She had been accustomed to a life of pleasure, and was brought up in the belief that 'joyousness' was the ideal after which one should aspire. She was a strong Roman Catholic, and her policy was to bring the country back to the old faith. In the meantime, however, she was prepared to accept the religious settlement which had been arrived at. Other counsels were given to her, but she wisely agreed to let well alone. She landed at Leith on the 19th August 1561. It was a dull and dismal morning. 'The very face of heaven,' says Knox, 'did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, to wit, sorrow, dolour, darkness, and all impiety, for in the memory of man that day of the year was never seen a more dolorous face of the heavens than was at her arrival.'

CHAPTER XXVI

MARY, 1561-1567

MARY was only nineteen years of age when she took up the reins of government in Scotland. She was beautiful, clever, and fascinating, and as brave as any of her race. She was already the theme of poets, the despair of lovers, and the problem of politicians. She found herself in the midst of men and movements which required the most skilful and trained hands to manage. The question, which time alone could solve, was, whether the young queen was capable of grappling with the situation. Granting her every other quality, the undetermined quantity in her character was the nature of her womanliness. This was the factor which was to condition every other. The chief difficulty that faced her and the country was whether she, a Roman Catholic queen, could govern a Protestant people. Two answers were given to this question ; the first by Knox, and the second by the Lord James Stewart and Maitland of Lethington, Mary's chief advisers. Knox had no doubt about the matter, he believed it to be impossible ; the other two thought it might be solved by the way of compromise. The issue showed that Knox was right.

The very first Sunday after her return put the question to the proof. Mass was celebrated in the private chapel at Holyrood, and but for the intervention of the Lord James, the mob would have broken in and interrupted the service. Stewart and Lethington both thought that Mary might be allowed to practise her own religious faith, but Knox knew that Protestantism could never be safe so long as the queen was a pronounced Roman Catholic. He preached in St Giles' denouncing the act, declaring that

'one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm on purpose to suppress the true religion.' Mary summoned him to her presence, thinking, perhaps, that with her royal prestige she might overawe, or by her fascination might win over, one whom she probably regarded as a vulgar demagogue. But Knox was a 'real' man if ever there was one, and he would neither be browbeaten nor cajoled. 'Think ye,' said the queen at last, 'that subjects having power may resist their princes?' 'If their princes exceed their bounds,' was the hardy reply.

Much time and effort were spent by Mary and her advisers in endeavouring to get Elizabeth to recognise the Queen of Scots as her successor. Elizabeth replied that to do so would be to prepare her own winding-sheet before her eyes. She, besides, insisted as the prelude to any negotiations, and even to friendly relations, that the Queen of Scots should sign the treaty of Edinburgh, in which Mary renounced her claim to the English throne. This Mary declared she would never do. Various husbands were proposed for Mary, with the object of forcing Elizabeth's hand, but to no avail. The Rulers of the Court, as Maitland and his friends were called, found their policy of compromise to be equally ineffective in dealing with the Church. Their aim—to unite the kingdoms of Scotland and England under Mary as queen—was statesmanlike enough, but, apart from every other mistake, they made the profound one of thinking that this was possible, so long as the Queen of Scots was a Roman Catholic, without a revolution. They repeated this mistake in allowing the old religion to hold sway at the court, and to treat the late basis of settlement in some of its essential features as of no account. They even went the length of refusing to sit with the other members at the Assembly which met in December 1561; and the fact that a breach was now visible between them and the common people, who were represented by Knox, could no longer be denied. Had the Reformer not created the Commons of Scotland the cause

of Protestantism would have been lost. On being asked to sanction the Book of Discipline, they contemptuously put off the subject with which it dealt as not being yet ripe; and on being forced to make some provision for the clergy, who up till now had been living on the charity of their congregations, all that the Privy Council agreed to was that a tax of one-third should be imposed upon all Church property, and that this third should be equally divided between the queen and the ministers. 'I see,' was Knox's observation on this proposal, 'two parts freely given to the devil, and the third must be divided betwixt God and the devil.'

The year 1562 had among its chief events a tour which Mary took through the northern counties. Her object was to make acquaintance with that part of her dominions. But what was intended as a holiday turned out to be a civil war, for the Marquis of Huntly and his sons slighted the queen, and she turned upon them and reduced them to subjection. Sir John Gordon, Huntly's second son, who was the chief cause of the trouble, was executed in Aberdeen, and Huntly himself was spared the traitor's death that awaited him through falling dead from his horse. Randolph, the English ambassador, who accompanied Mary in this expedition, said: 'I never saw her merrier, never dismayed,' and he heard her call out that 'she wished that she were a man to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a pack or knapschall (headpiece), a Glasgow buckler, and a broadsword.'

While Mary was in the north, Knox was in the south and west, where he found it difficult to restrain the perfervid Protestants of Cunningham and Carrick from revolt. They were incensed at the policy of compromise which was being practised. The Reformer himself could not conceal the danger that threatened the Church, and on hearing of the gaities and dancing that took place in Holyrood when the news of the success of the Guises over the Huguenots had reached Scotland, he broke out indignantly against the

unbecoming festivities. Mary summoned him before her once more, but the Reformer stood firm, declaring that he had only done his duty. Knox was perhaps the only man who could come into the presence of Mary without being influenced by her. The Protestant lords, as we have seen, had to yield to her influence, and some others even became her victims. Among the last was Chastelar, who had accompanied her from France, and who was so carried away by his passion for her that he concealed himself in her bedroom (12th February 1563), and two days later, at Burntisland, he again intruded himself upon her. His temerity and folly were his undoing, for the following week he was executed at St Andrews.

In his previous interviews with the queen Knox triumphed, but in the one that took place about this time it must be admitted that he was fairly outwitted by Mary. She summoned him to her presence at Lochleven, where she was spending Easter, and endeavoured to persuade him to use his influence so that the law against priests who celebrated the mass should not be put into force. Knox declined to interfere. On the following morning the queen renewed the conversation, and made a show of yielding. Knox left quite satisfied, but he was speedily undeceived, for Mary had a deeper scheme in view. The Estates had never met since she had returned to her native country. She was probably afraid that the smaller barons and burghers, who were for the most part Protestants, would assemble in as large numbers as they did at the famous Convention of 1560, and outvote her. But now that she had caused the Archbishop of St Andrews and forty-seven other Churchmen to be imprisoned for having broken the law, she appeased the fears of the Protestants and felt justified in calling together the Estates, confident that few of those whom she feared would attend. It happened as she desired. The Estates met on 26th May, and when Knox found that the interests of Protestantism were sacrificed to the queen's policy, he saw that he had been duped, and so indignant was he with

Moray, who was a party to the plot, that an estrangement took place between them, and it was so bitter, that 'familiarily after that time they spoke not together for a year and a half.'

The policy of endeavouring to coerce Elizabeth into naming Mary as her successor was still pursued. The old plan of frightening the English queen by the proposed marriage of Mary to some powerful prince was again adopted. Charles, Archduke of Austria, was named ; but the one most favoured, even by the Protestant lords, was Don Carlos, the heir to the Spanish throne. Neither of these proposals came to anything. The quarrel between the two religions still continued, and an act on the part of Knox towards the end of the year seemed to put him finally into the queen's power. Mass was celebrated in the private chapel at Holyrood while the queen was absent in the west. According to the agreement which had been made with the queen, this was only to take place in her own presence. The violation of this understanding was more than some of the Protestants could bear, and two of their number, Patrick Cranston and Andrew Armstrong, having interrupted these services, were ordered to be tried, the charge against them being that they had forcibly invaded the queen's palace. Knox wrote a circular letter calling the Protestants to appear at the trial, and Mary summoned him to the Privy Council on a charge of treason. To her astonishment and disgust the Reformer was acquitted, for the lords saw that if no meeting of the lieges could be summoned without the sanction of the queen, the liberty of the Commonwealth would be gone. Besides, some of them, who were 'Lords of the Congregation,' had repeatedly summoned meetings, and they perceived that if they condemned Knox they themselves would stand condemned.

The year 1564 saw in its opening months a repetition of what took place during the previous year ; a proposal to marry Mary, this time to Lord Dudley, Elizabeth's favourite ; and a conflict between the Rulers of the Court and

Knox, which showed that the policy of compromise was impossible. Either Protestantism or Catholicism must prevail. A Roman Catholic queen in Scotland had now become an impossibility, as the next two years were to show. Mary's reign up to this point had been, on the whole, quiet and uneventful, but a number of incidents were to follow each other in such quick succession as to startle the world, and to lead to her deposition and death. She had submitted unwillingly to the policy imposed upon her by Moray and Lethington, but the woman in her was soon to take the lead, and while her conduct dazzled by its brilliancy, it at the same time led to her undoing. The first step in the series of tragic events we have now to record was the return of the Earl of Lennox. Mary desired it, because he was a relative and a Catholic, and the Protestants feared it, because they saw the probable subversion of their schemes. The real danger, however, lay, not in Lennox, but in his son, Lord Darnley, who came to Scotland in February 1565. He was the grandson of Margaret Tudor, and was thus nearly related to the queen, who fell madly in love with him. No time was lost in celebrating the nuptials; they were married on the 29th July in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, according to the rites of the Church of Rome. Thus at one stroke did Mary strengthen her position both in Scotland and in England. Darnley was, next to herself, the nearest heir to the English throne. At the same time by her marriage she freed herself from the Scottish Protestant lords. Elizabeth was furious at the marriage, for she saw in it a danger to herself, and Mary, strong in her position, let it be clearly seen that she had no intention of renouncing her faith. Thus the policy of compromise had come to naught. If Moray had taken Knox's advice, and insisted upon Mary, when she came to Scotland, either becoming a Protestant or abdicating the throne, it would have been better for the queen and the country.

Mary at once showed what she intended to be; she meant to be mistress in her own kingdom. The Protestant lords took to flight. Moray was outlawed, but the insurgents

combined for defence. They gathered at Ayr, marched to Edinburgh with Châtelherault, Moray, Glencairn, Rothes, and Boyd at their head. Getting a very cold reception in the capital, they hastened to Dumfries. Mary was at once on their track, with the intent of giving them battle, but they retreated to Carlisle. And so ended the Roundabout or Chaseabout Raid, which left Mary undisputed mistress of the kingdom. Her triumph gave great satisfaction to the Catholic rulers of Spain and France, and to the Pope, who had started the Counter-Reformation movement, and who saw in the Queen of Scots' success the speedy victory of Catholicism in England, the solitary country that was still heretical. But there remained two obstacles in the path of Mary; the first was, that it was impossible to govern the country without the aid of the Protestants, who were now rapidly becoming its backbone; and the second was, that Darnley was beginning to show himself utterly incapable of acting along with her. He speedily proved himself unworthy, foolish, and vicious, and she was too penetrating not to perceive his weaknesses, and too proud not to resent his slights. The estrangement that had sprung up between them was widened by his jealousy of Riccio, an Italian adventurer, who had become a favourite of the queen, and by Mary's refusal to give him the crown matrimonial. The Protestant lords saw in Riccio's rise and influence a danger to themselves and to the new faith. They accordingly joined with Darnley in a plot to assassinate him, and on the night of 9th March Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, at a signal from Darnley, entered the palace, and found their victim at supper with the queen. They at once dispatched him, either in the queen's own chamber or its immediate vicinity.

Mary lost no time in deciding as to her future conduct. She detached Darnley from his fellow conspirators, and with him escaped to Dunbar. Those who had been involved in the murder of Riccio now discovered their blunder. Darnley, as they might have known, could not be relied upon;

he had betrayed them to the queen, and they fled in fear to Linlithgow. The day after their departure (18th March) Mary re-entered the capital, and had she been able to act with a decision similar to that which characterised her action in the Roundabout Raid, her position might have been stronger than ever. But the difficulty was Darnley. It was impossible for her to put any trust in him, and his recent conduct as husband, as consort, or as man was such as to turn any affection that she may have had for him into something like loathing. The estrangement between the two, hidden for the time by the queen for reasons of policy, was deep on her part. Her course accordingly was impeded by the man who ought to have helped her. She found it impossible to follow up the advantage she had gained, and was compelled to call into her councils such of the Protestant lords as had not been, outwardly, at least, involved in the murder of Riccio. But an event now took place which was to eclipse every other in its importance, both for Scotland and England. This was the birth of James VI. in the castle of Edinburgh on the 19th of June 1566. The nation clearly realised its significance, for five hundred bonfires were kindled in different parts of the country, and a national thanksgiving service was held in St Giles. Elizabeth, on hearing the news, exclaimed that she was a barren stock, and the Queen of Scots was the mother of a fair son.

The man who was to prove the evil genius of Mary now appeared on the scene. This was James Hepburn, fourth Earl of Bothwell. Mary, finding that she required all the support possible, recalled him from exile in France. She knew that she could rely on him, for he had proved faithful to her mother, and she felt that her hands would be strengthened by his presence in her dealings with the Protestant lords. She restored him to his large estates, and called him to her side. It would certainly have been better for her if she had let this 'glorious, rash, and hazardous young man' remain in France, and acted in concert with the party that represented the new movement in religion and politics.

But that was not Mary's way, and she probably thought that, with the aid of Bothwell and kindred spirits, she might be able to assert herself, and carry out the policy which she had at heart. It soon became apparent that her feelings towards Darnley bordered almost upon hate, and that the affection which she once bestowed upon him was being now transferred to Bothwell. A sign of this change was a ride which she took from Jedburgh, in October 1566, to the castle of Hermitage, some thirty miles distant, and back in one day. She had been residing in the Border town, and on hearing that Bothwell, who was Keeper of the Marches, had been badly wounded by one Jock Elliot, she visited him. Mary was, of course, capable of a rash and injudicious act such as this, but after events caused people to put a different construction on it. This preference for Bothwell was further emphasised by the prominent place which she gave him at the baptism of her infant son on 17th December at Stirling.

Those who accuse Mary of wishing to compass the ruin of Darnley find proof in the fact that she pardoned Morton and others, who had taken an active and personal part in the murder of Riccio. Their opinion of and feeling towards the queen's husband were well known, and Darnley himself took the hint, and retired to Glasgow. Falling ill, he was visited by the queen, who induced him to accompany her to Edinburgh. There she placed him in a house in Kirk o' Field, near the city wall. She showed him on her visits much affection, particularly on the evening of Sunday, 9th February 1567, but, recollecting that she had to attend a masque at Holyrood in honour of the marriage of one of her servants, she left him. At two o'clock in the morning the city was startled by a loud report. The house in which Darnley lodged had been blown up by gunpowder.

It is not easy, in fact it may be impossible, to expiscate the truth about the murder of Darnley, but there is little doubt that Bothwell was the chief instigator of the deed, Morton, Lethington, and others were parties to

it, and Mary's recent conduct and her preference for Bothwell impressed the public mind with the strong conviction that she was an accomplice in the murder of her husband. Lennox, the father of Darnley, demanded a trial. This was conceded, but Bothwell so overawed the judges by the number of his followers that the trial was nothing more than a farce. His power now was such that he induced many of the nobility to support his purpose of becoming the husband of Mary. He lost no time in carrying out his resolutions. On the 24th April he intercepted the queen on her way from Stirling, and took her, a willing captive as it was thought by many, to Dunbar. Mary had in the meantime restored to Archbishop Hamilton his Consistorial powers. The object of this was seen in the divorce which he granted to Bothwell from his wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntly. The queen and he returned to Edinburgh on the 6th of May, and on the 15th of the same month they were married at Holyrood according to the rites of the Protestant Church, for Bothwell belonged to the Reformed faith, and Mary for his sake was prepared, for the time, to renounce her own religion.

The tragic events of the past few months touched the conscience of the people, and roused them to a deep sense of the enormities that had been perpetrated. Scotland was now a very different country from what it had been a few years before. The Reformed Faith had not been preached in vain. The commons of Scotland were now a force to be reckoned with, and the teaching of the Bible had created and developed a conception of righteousness and a regard for morality which were shocked and outraged by the late doings of the queen. If Mary, in pursuit of her policy, called Bothwell to her side, she in the end, carried away by her passion, sacrificed not only her queenhood, but her womanhood, and threw herself into his arms. The people called out for her death, and knowing her danger, she fled to Dunbar, taking Bothwell with her. The Protestant lords gathered a force, and Mary and Bothwell, at the head

of their followers, marched out to meet them. The two armies faced each other on the 15th June at Carberry Hill, near Pinkie. The queen's followers showed signs of melting away. Mary counselled Bothwell to escape, and she herself yielded to the insurgent lords. She was taken to Edinburgh, amid the jeers of the populace, and two days afterwards (17th June) imprisoned in the castle of Lochleven. On 24th July she abdicated, and five days afterwards her infant son James was crowned at Stirling, Knox preaching the sermon. Bothwell escaped to the Shetland Islands, and collecting a number of vessels, he became a pirate. Pursued by Kirkcaldy of Grange, he fled to Norway, was imprisoned in Malmoe, and subsequently in Denmark, where some years afterwards he ended his wild career, insane.

The Estates met in December 1567, and to the delight of Knox and the Protestants they ratified all the Acts of the Parliament of 1560, establishing the new religion. Mary, on the 2nd of May 1568, escaped from Lochleven. Many of the nobility rallied round her with a considerable following. It was her intention to march on Dumbarton castle, which she regarded as her safest refuge. To accomplish this she would have to take Glasgow on the way, and Moray, who had been appointed Regent, gathered a force there to intercept her. The two armies encountered each other at Langside, which is now a suburb of Glasgow. The engagement was short, sharp, and decisive. Mary's troops were routed. She had good cause to fear falling again into the hands of the confederate lords. She accordingly made for England, riding almost without a break to Dundrennan in Kirkcudbrightshire, a distance of fully a hundred miles, from whence she crossed to Workington in Cumberland. She was now safe from her pursuers, but she had put herself into the hands of her inveterate enemy. On hearing of her arrival in her kingdom, Elizabeth issued the order, 'Let none of them escape.'

It was a strange fate that made Mary Queen of Scotland at the very time when the country demanded a ruler of

absolutely different character and aims. No one has ever questioned her ability, courage, or loyalty to friends. She could hold her own with the strongest men in her kingdom. In play of words, in ingenuity, resourcefulness, and promptness of action she was the equal of Moray, Lethington, and Knox ; but she failed to understand the temper of the Scottish people, and the religious and moral forces which the Reformation had awakened. In fighting against the Protestant lords, and in trying to bolster up the old Church, she was attempting the impossible. The movements of the time tended strongly towards the emancipation of thought and person from the thralldom of a corrupt and superstitious Church, and the feudal form of government, which had had its day. No compromise on these questions was possible. The English alliance, too, was in the order of events, but she had not the wisdom to see that this could not be forced. It could only come by patience, and by maintaining friendly relations with the English queen and people. But here again Mary's religion, apart from every other consideration, was a stumbling-block. She had, no doubt, to contend with an unruly, and even brutal, nobility, to whom assassination was an ordinary means for gaining their ends, and her marriage to Darnley added insuperably to her difficulties. But the ultimate cause of shipwreck is found not in her intellectual but in her moral nature. Her shameless marriage with Bothwell, and all that it involved, proved her to be deficient as a woman, as it rendered her impossible as a queen. She was a moral failure.

CHAPTER XXVII

JAMES VI.—THE MINORITY, 1567-1578

THE cause of Protestantism was now triumphant, and it was the aim of Moray to see it firmly established. Along with this, and also as a means for securing it, he was determined that the infant prince should continue to be the king, and that the alliance with England should be furthered and strengthened. It was a statesmanlike scheme that he had in his mind, one that was in the undoubted interests of the country. It was in the end to be accomplished, although he himself was not to live to see the results of his labours. His course was not by any means an easy one. There was a strong party in the country, headed by the Hamiltons, Huntly, and Argyll, who were opposed to Moray. The Hamiltons could not be said to be friendly to Mary, for as the head of their house stood next in succession to the throne, their object was to play for their own hand. Huntly and Argyll, however, championed the cause of the queen, and the Regent felt that one of his first acts must be to reduce these two rebellious peers to subjection. With them in revolt, his government would be in constant danger. In the meantime, he reduced the southern counties of Dumfries and Galloway to order, and on the 16th of August he summoned the Estates to meet, so that all might give in their adherence to his government. Huntly and Argyll accepted the warning, and with the aid of Elizabeth a temporary arrangement was arrived at.

Mary was not long in England before she found out the blunder which she had committed in placing herself in the hands of Elizabeth. Her presence in England, it must also be admitted, put its queen in a difficult position. Mary

had never renounced her claims to the English throne. The Catholics in the country were still numerous, and might at any moment join in a revolt to further her interests. These were good and sufficient reasons why Elizabeth should feel tempted to deal with her entirely in her own interests. In addition, the Scottish queen's subjects were in rebellion against their lawful monarch, and how could Elizabeth, with her high conceptions of the rights and power of a sovereign, favour or help them. It is in the light of these conflicting motives that one must judge of the course of events, and justify or condemn Elizabeth's conduct. Mary's first step was a request that her case might be heard, and by making it she put herself further in the power of Elizabeth. Her request was granted, and commissioners representing her and the Scottish Government met at York on 8th October. Mary accused her subjects of rebellion, and they justified their actions on the ground that she had broken the laws. It was now that the famous Casket Letters were produced as evidence of Mary's complicity in the murder of Darnley. They were alleged to be letters written by Mary to Bothwell. The originals were never put into evidence, only copies were seen. Mary denied their authenticity; and whether she was their author or not is one of those historical points which still remain undecided. But her guilt really does not depend upon these letters. The body of evidence would seem to be weighty enough without them. It is quite clear that neither of the two parties interested wished the matter pushed to a conclusion. If Mary was not guiltless, neither were her accusers. It was clearly to the advantage of all concerned to have that particular question compromised, if not altogether hushed up. The place of meeting was changed to Westminster and then to Hampton Court, and on the 10th January 1569, Sir William Cecil, Elizabeth's secretary, gave what purported to be his mistress's decision. Moray and his allies were told that nothing had been alleged against them which might 'impair their honour or allegiance,' while

Mary was assured that nothing had been brought against her 'whereby the Queen of England should conceive or take any evil opinion.' This judgment, of course, meant nothing, except that Moray could go back to his regency, and that Mary was to remain a prisoner in England.

The Regent busied himself in bringing the whole country into orderly subjection to his government, but Argyll and Huntly still showing signs of restiveness, he ordered them to attend on the 10th of May at St Andrews. Argyll attended, and Huntly afterwards was brought to terms. Moray pursued his advantage by visiting the district lorded over by the great northern earl with such effect that there was 'none within the bounds of the north but they were subdued to the king's authority.' Communications were now received from Elizabeth and Mary which demanded the careful consideration of the Regent and his advisers. Elizabeth proposed that on certain terms Mary might be restored to her kingdom. To this the Government would not listen for a moment. Mary's own letter was a request that Moray might take means to procure her divorce from Bothwell. She had now another lover, and she was meditating a fourth marriage. Her husband on this occasion was to be the Duke of Norfolk. While a prisoner at Lochleven she refused to renounce Bothwell, on the ground that she was with child to him. Her secretary Nau also testified as much. What became of the offspring, if any, of that ill-fated union, no one knows. But she was now scheming for the support of the English Catholics, and was convinced that if she were married to Norfolk they would join her and further her ends. Both Moray and Lethington were privy to this proposal, which, in the meantime, was kept secret from Elizabeth.

When the matter came formally before the Scottish Government Moray resolutely opposed it. The risk was too great, and Elizabeth, subsequently hearing of it, solved the question in her own high-handed way by sending Norfolk to the block. Still the Catholics plotted for Mary,

and Lethington finally joined her party. He knew that he was completely in her hands, for his share in the Darnley murder was within Mary’s knowledge, and she could ruin him at any moment. He thought that she might regain her liberty, so he wished to keep in her good graces. She never forgave his conduct on and after the event of Carberry Hill. To him more than to any other were due her subsequent misfortunes. She had saved him from the dagger of Bothwell, and that was her reward. Lethington was now scheming on behalf of Mary, and Moray knew that so long as he was free his government was unstable. He accordingly agreed to a proposal that Lethington should be openly accused of taking part in the murder of Darnley. The wily secretary was accordingly warded in a private house in Edinburgh, but Kirkcaldy of Grange, visiting him with a forged letter from Moray, had him conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh, of which he himself was keeper ; and there for the time being he was safe.

The Regent now made another raid on the Border thieves, who were ready to join in any rising that might take place in the north of England in the interests of Mary. He brought the unruly Borderers under such subjection as had never existed before. A rising, all the same, did take place ; it was headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland. The Regent prepared to suppress it, but the English queen had anticipated him. The two leaders of the revolt, however, escaped to Scotland. Moray captured Northumberland, and took him prisoner to Lochleven castle. He marched on his return by Dumbarton castle, which was still a Marian stronghold. Its keeper had promised to give it up, but Moray, on reaching its gates, found them resolutely barred against him. He continued his journey to Edinburgh by Glasgow and Stirling. On the 22nd of January 1570 he reached Linlithgow. He was warned of treachery, and an offer was made to bring his intended murderer into his presence. All, however, that he would agree to was, that he would leave Linlithgow by a different

road from that by which he entered it ; but the crowd was so great that this was impossible. His enemy, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, had secreted himself in a house which belonged to his uncle, the Archbishop of St Andrews, and as Moray rode past the window behind which he had screened himself, he fired, and fatally wounded him. Moray felt no pain at the time, and was able to walk to the house where he had lodged, but by eleven o'clock the same evening he was dead. Hamilton rode on a swift horse, that was ready waiting for him, to his relatives at Hamilton, where there was much rejoicing at his dastardly deed.

About few of the great characters of Scottish history is opinion so divided as about the Regent Moray. Some hold that he betrayed his sister with the object of being her successor ; that, in any case, he winked at the plots which led to the murder of Riccio and Darnley, and to her final deposition from the throne. They see in him one who, while willing to involve others in danger, always took care that he himself should be safe. No full biography of him has been written, in which these and other doubtful points have been thoroughly examined. But the almost unanimous opinion of the Scottish people of his own time was that he was the ' Good Regent,' and this judgment has become the general finding of subsequent generations of his countrymen. He stood, next to Knox, as the man who made the Reformation possible, and he accomplished on the political side what Knox achieved on the religious. There can be no doubt of his sincerity. He firmly believed that the future of his country depended upon the religious revolution to which he gave his life, and on the alliance with England, which would in the end unite the two countries that ought to be one in aim and interest, as they were practically one in blood. He thought at one time that this could be secured by the reversion of Elizabeth's crown to Mary, and he showed his devotion to her by working heartily for this end, and by conceding to her the right of worshipping according to the forms of the Catholic

Church. As Regent, he ruled the country with a firm and yet with a kindly hand. The great mass of the people, especially in the towns and burghs, believed in him. They were for the most part Protestant, and under his leadership they gained a stronger footing in the country, and formed higher and truer conceptions of their rights and power as members of the commonwealth. It only requires a little reflection to understand what might have happened during the crisis which called him to the front had there been no 'Good Regent' to respond to the summons of the country, and to lead it safely through the troubles that had arisen.

The importance of the place which Moray filled in the government of the country is shown by the difficulty which was experienced in selecting a successor. Five months elapsed before Lennox, the father of Darnley, was appointed Regent. His chief colleague, as head of the king's party, was Morton, while the party of the queen had as its leaders Lethington, who had been liberated from his ward in Edinburgh castle, Archbishop Hamilton, and Kirkealdy of Grange. The Borderers showed their delight at, and took advantage of, the death of Moray by making raids into England in the interests of Mary. Elizabeth at once took a swift and terrible revenge; she dispatched Sir William Drury on 12th May with a strong force from Berwick to Edinburgh, and knowing that the cause of these and other troubles was the Hamiltons, she instructed Drury, who now was supported by Morton and the king's party, to march west, and to inflict punishment on that treacherous house. The English commander discharged his commission by burning the castle, palace, and town of Hamilton to the ground. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the course of events. The country was now plunged into a civil war, and each party raided in turn. It was a miserable time, that no Scotsman can look back upon with any degree of pleasure. Lennox became Regent in July 1570, and in the spring of the following year

there occurred an incident in his own district which deserves a passing remark. This was the taking of the castle of Dumbarton. It was held by the queen's party, and Lord Fleming, its keeper, declared that while he held it he also had in his hands the 'fettters of Scotland.' The hero of the incident was Captain Thomas Crawford, the same man who had been put forward as the accuser of Lethington. A sentry volunteered to lead him into the stronghold by scaling the walls. Ladders were provided, the difficult and dangerous ascent accomplished, and the stronghold taken. An unexpected and notable prize was also secured. This was none other than Hamilton, the Archbishop of St Andrews. He was accused of being privy to the murders of Darnley and Moray. He was found guilty, and hanged, on 7th April 1571, at the market cross of Stirling. He was the first and only bishop ever executed in Scotland.

Civil war was now raging. Kirkcaldy held the castle of Edinburgh, and although most of the citizens were Protestant, he was able to keep the king's party at bay. Lennox, who had come to Leith for the purpose of besieging Edinburgh, found the task hopeless, and retired to Stirling. There, on the 28th August, a Parliament was held, and to make it all the more imposing and regular, James, who was then only in his sixth year, was put up to open it. This he did in a speech which no doubt was carefully prepared for him; but he even then showed his precocity by making an original observation. Looking up to the roof, he saw a rent in it, whereupon he made the humorous and somewhat ominous remark, 'There is a hole in this Parliament.' His words speedily came true, in a sense different from what he meant, for a hole, which was intended to be fatal, was made in his own party. Lethington and Grange sent those enterprising freebooters, the lairds of Buccleuch and Ferniehirst, who had led the Border raid at the death of Moray, to Stirling on the 3rd September, six days after James had discovered a 'hole' in his first Parliament. They reached the town in the early morning,

and succeeded, to their great delight, in capturing Lennox, Morton, and Glencairn. They could not, however, resist the temptation, which so often proved fatal to their ancestors, of neglecting their prizes in their search for booty. While they were pillaging the town, Mar with a strong following issued from the castle, liberated the chief prisoners, and put the Borderers to flight. Lennox, however, received a pistol-shot in the fight from which he shortly afterwards died.

Lennox was succeeded in the regency by the Earl of Mar. He also attempted to take Edinburgh, but without avail. Reprisals took place between the two parties, there and in the north, but little headway was made by either. The man who, since the death of Moray, was the chief force on the king's side was the Earl of Morton. His day was yet to come, but even then he was the power behind the throne, and in 1572 he was the means of carrying a resolution which deeply affected the course of national events for many years. He was a firm friend to the Protestant cause, although, because of his profligacy, he was disliked by the ministers. While they naturally regarded the Revolution from the religious point of view, he looked upon it, and the Church which had now been established, from the national standpoint, and was more bent upon securing the good of the country as a whole than the mere well-being of any ecclesiastical institution. Finding that the king's government was sorely in need of funds, he thought of a plan by which these might be supplied, and he himself at the same time benefited. The clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, who were liferented in two-thirds of the Church's property, were gradually dying out, and it occurred to him that these two-thirds might be appropriated, chiefly by the State, but also to some extent by himself. Accordingly, at a Convention which was held at Leith on 12th January 1572, it was agreed that Episcopacy should be established. But it was to be a bogus Episcopacy, a kind suited to Morton's own special needs. Archbishops,

bishops, abbots, and priors were to remain, but while the offices were to be preserved, the funds which supplied the needs of their holders were, with the exception of small allowances, to come into Morton's hands, ostensibly, of course, for the service of the State. The first appointment under this new agreement was that of James Douglas to the archbishopric of St Andrews as successor to Hamilton. Morton was present at his consecration, and he asked Knox, who had sought safety in St Andrews from Kirkcaldy's cannons, to preach the sermon. The aged Reformer refused, and sternly denounced both Morton and Douglas for their treacherous conduct to the Church. The system which Morton thus set up was short-lived, as it deserved to be, but it caused much trouble at the time, and led in the future to bitter dissension between the Church and the State. The holders of such offices were known as 'Tulchan Bishops,' so nicknamed from the resemblance which they bore to the stuffed calf that was sometimes used to make a cow give milk. The milk which flowed into Morton's coffers was the patrimony of the Kirk, and those bogus bishops were the stuffed calves that made the golden liquid flow. But an event now happened on the Continent which destroyed for ever the cause of Mary in Scotland. On the 24th of August the massacre of St Bartholomew created horror and consternation among all Protestants, not least among those of our own country. From that day all chances of Mary's release and return to Scotland, and acceptance of her by the people, vanished away. In October following the Regent Mar died, and on the 24th of the same month there also passed away in his own house in Edinburgh, to which he had returned, Scotland's greatest and most representative man, John Knox.

Knox has had his detractors. He has been accused of intolerance, of exaggeration, of perverting facts, of scandalous insinuations, and of imposing upon his country a narrow creed. But no great man is free from criticism. He had the failings of his virtues ; but when everything possible or

even probable is said against him, he stands head and shoulders above all his contemporaries, and is the one man to whom Scotland owes its first great step in that march of progress which has raised it to so prominent a position among the nations of the modern world. The Reformation, even the Church which was its expression, is simply John Knox writ large. He was a man of the people, and the Commons of Scotland, whom he created, found in him their ideal, and have ever since looked back upon him with unbounded admiration. If Wallace called the nation to itself, and Burns knit it to humanity, Knox summoned it into the presence of God, and gave it that deep sense of subjection to the Divine will which resulted in a recognition of personal responsibility. While this may have produced a seriousness bordering on sternness, it at the same time created 'the fear of God and no other fear.' The Regent Morton's eulogy at his grave was as true as it was significant: 'Here lies one who neither feared nor flattered any flesh.'

Morton began his Regency the day of Knox's death, and on the 1st of January 1573 Kirkcaldy fired a shot from the castle of Edinburgh defiantly announcing that the Abstinence (a cessation of hostilities which had lasted for five months) was at an end. The gallant defender of that strong fortress was, however, speedily to find that the contest was hopeless. He was deserted by his leading supporters; only Lethington was loyal. He grew ruthless in his cruelty, setting fire to the thatched houses in the neighbourhood of the castle, and firing on those who endeavoured to extinguish the flames. Morton by his own efforts was unable to reduce the stronghold, but he determined to starve out its defenders. He poisoned St Margaret's Well, from which the castilians derived their water-supply, and he saw that no provisions were carried to them. At last, the aid which he looked for arrived. Elizabeth, after years of hesitation, decided for the king's party, and sent Sir William Drury at the end of April with a strong force to reduce the castle. The assault

began on the 21st May, and in a few days the towers and battlements, pulverised by shot, ran down the steep rocks like a 'sandy brae.' Grange, on the 28th of May, held a parley with Drury, but the English commander would not act without the consent of Morton. Elizabeth refused to interfere. The terms offered were that all should go free with the exception of Kirkcaldy, Lethington, and six others. On hearing of this the soldiers mutinied, and the only course open to Kirkcaldy was to yield. He knew that he need look for no mercy from Morton, and the Protestants clamoured for his death. Lethington escaped the sentence that was passed upon him by dying in prison on the 9th July, as it was thought, by his own hand. Kirkcaldy was publicly executed in Edinburgh on the 3rd of August.

One cannot help a feeling of mingled pity and admiration at the fate of these two men. They give an air of romance to a period which, with all its importance and significance for the future of the country, had much in it that was selfish, sordid, and even brutal. Lethington was endowed with a brilliant intellect. His very subtlety was his undoing. In diplomacy he was unrivalled; but he changed his course so often as to lose the trust of the people. His final adhesion to the cause of Mary was fatal. He was the strongest man on her side, and without his support her cause would have collapsed much sooner than it did. His champions find it difficult to account for his desertion of the Protestant leaders. The reason which most commends itself to us has already been stated; he knew that he was in Mary's power. He had a statesmanlike and far-reaching conception of the policy which his country should adopt. He was convinced that its future depended on its union with England. He was a patriot, and would only consent to that union on equal terms. In temperament he was more of a humanist than a religious reformer, and believed in that relation between Church and State which, while conceding all that was reasonable and necessary to the former, left the latter

free. There could be very little sympathy between him and Knox ; they may have carried the same shield, but each represented a different side of it. Kirkcaldy was the greatest Scottish soldier of his time ; he was honest and sincere, and among a crew of greedy nobles, who saw in the destruction of the old Church the means of their own aggrandisement, he stands out as unselfish and even generous. He deeply regretted the course which he determined to follow when the strife between the two parties began, but having made the decision, he adhered loyally to it to the very end. There were many, both friends and foes, who would gladly have saved his life, and who even made large offers to have it spared ; but Morton knew no mercy, and the public clamour for Kirkcaldy's death seemed so great as to leave him no option.

Morton's first concern was to reduce the Borders, and by means of fines and hostages, his efforts were crowned with success. It was averred that a fair proportion of the fines found its way into his own private purse. To add to his sordid gains, he again turned to the Church, and by means of a plan which looked patriotic, he further robbed the clergy and enriched himself. The ministers were financially in a most wretched condition. Their share of the Thirds was not paid in full or with regularity. Many of them were houseless, and some of them were starved to death. Their churches were in a deplorable condition, and the cause of religion was in a very perilous state. At this crisis Morton came forward, ostensibly in the interests of the clergy, and had himself appointed as the Collector of the Thirds. He fulfilled his self-appointed task in this fashion. He made one minister the overseer of three or four parishes. He paid him, if at all, the stipend of one parish, and he himself pocketed those of the others. The Borders again gave trouble. The two Wardens of the Marches quarrelled. Their followers fought ; the Scots were victorious. This is known as the raid of the Reidswire. It occurred in July 1575. Morton did not relish the encounter, as he wished to keep on friendly

terms with Elizabeth, but he took advantage of it to persuade the Privy Council to authorise the formation of a standing force, to be paid by the nation, for the purpose of keeping the Borderers in order. By means of extermination or banishment of all law breakers, the Borderers, in the course of a few years, were reduced to permanent subjection and order.

It was in this year also (1575) that the Church asserted itself. Even before the death of Knox there was a danger of it, through the action of the Government, falling into a state of subjection, which, unless remedied, would have reduced the Reformation, so far as the religious side of it was concerned, to a hopeless condition. Morton, while the friend of Protestantism, was no lover of Presbyterianism or its clergy. He treated them with contempt, and the pseudo-episcopacy which he set up served his purposes far better. A Church subservient to the State was his ideal. But in 1574 there returned to his native country the man who was to relieve the Church, but who at the same time was to originate that contest between it and the Crown which was to last for more than a hundred years. This was Andrew Melville. He was one of the greatest scholars of the day, and was fired with a conception of the rights of the Church which was more theocratic than even Knox's. One of his first acts was to cause the Assembly of 1575 to question the lawfulness of Episcopacy, and with the debate thus started began the conflict which kept both Church and State in a turmoil until the Revolution Settlement.

Morton's strong rule naturally made enemies. The ministers, in spite of his being a Protestant, could not readily overlook his simony, nor could the nobles forgive the grasping greed which, while replenishing his own coffers, sternly forbade them from enriching themselves. Opposition accordingly sprang up, and it found leaders in the Earls of Atholl and Argyll. They had quarrelled, and Morton set himself to bring about peace with a strong hand. On learn-

ing this, they patched up their quarrel, and conspired at Morton's overthrow. The king was at Stirling under the care of his custodian, Alexander Erskine, and his tutor, George Buchanan, both of whom entered into the conspiracy against Morton. The Regent felt the odds against him were too heavy, and he adopted the only dignified course and resigned. The proclamation announcing the event took place on the 12th March 1578. He was the last Regent to hold sway in Scotland as a separate kingdom.

CHAPTER XXVIII

JAMES VI., 1578-1625

THE king was now twelve years of age. He was young to take upon himself the government of the country, but he was precocious, and had been well trained in the duties of his high office. It is true that for a number of years his rule was merely nominal ; different favourites held sway over him, and he was simply the mouthpiece of their schemes. On more than one occasion, also, he was compelled, by what almost looked like violence, to do the bidding of others. Still, with the fall of Morton the reign of James VI. may be said to have really begun. He had a difficult task before him, and with all his faults, which were neither few nor insignificant, it must be admitted that he showed remarkable skill in keeping hold of his throne, and in piloting the ship of state through the troubled waters of the times. Had it not been for the evil influences that were brought to bear upon him during the early years of his rule, and the conceptions of absolute sovereignty with which irresponsible favourites inspired him, he might have saved the country from many of the trials of his own reign, and preserved the life of his immediate successor, who inherited his regal pretensions without his shrewdness and tact.

During the whole of James's reign, repeated attempts were made by the Catholic Church and party to recover their position in Scotland. A considerable proportion of the population still adhered to the old Church, and James's own Protestantism was not above suspicion. It was believed that he was prepared to side with the stronger party. This naturally created strong fear on the part of the Reformed Church, and James's subsequent leaning to

Episcopacy, and his attempt to establish it in Scotland put the leaders of the new faith on their mettle, and produced that conception of the Church and its relation to the State which, while stirring up strife, and resulting finally in bloodshed, yet at the same time saved Scotland from monarchical tyranny. The foes whom James's predecessors had to encounter were the nobles, but those that he had to wage war with were the people. In the many conflicts which the Scottish kings had with the aristocracy, the people were always on their side. But the ruling class, as it may be called, was now of much less consequence than it used to be. A new force had appeared ; it was the creation of the Reformation ; it was embodied in the Church, and the Church was the champion of the people. The domestic war now, and for a hundred years to come, was accordingly to be between the Crown and the Kirk, and the final triumph of the Kirk was also the final triumph of the people. If there is one institution which the people of Scotland ought to love more than any other it is the Church of Scotland. It called them into being as free and active agents in the government of the country at the Reformation, and for the long period of nearly a century and a half it resolutely championed and suffered for their cause, until in the end it triumphed. The man who more than any other at this crisis realised the nature of the contest that had arisen, and who put himself at the head of the people, was Andrew Melville. The very fact of the strife may have caused him to exaggerate the rights of the Church, just as the opposition to his schemes may have fostered in James's mind an equally exaggerated sense of his privileges. Hildebrandism and Absolutism were the two forces that now came into conflict, and they took this extreme form first of all because of the pretensions of the king, and latterly because of the life-and-death struggle into which these pretensions plunged the Church and the people.

The country was not long in finding that Morton's rule, with all its severity, was preferable to the anarchy which

now threatened it. The late Regent accordingly had no difficulty in regaining his ascendancy. On the 24th May 1579, he, by the aid of the young Earl of Mar, who was the Hereditary Guardian of the king, entered Stirling castle, and became once more, through having James in his power, virtual ruler of the country. He signalised his authority, among other acts, by destroying the house of Hamilton. But his temporary supremacy was now about to be abolished. On the 8th September there arrived in Scotland from France Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny, nephew of the late Regent Lennox, the father of Darnley. D'Aubigny was a man of good presence and address, and he at once acquired an extraordinary and baneful influence over the young king. He had come from the most corrupt court in Europe, that of Henry III. of France, and he initiated the youthful monarch into practices which could not but pervert his moral nature. This may have been his deliberate intention, for by discrediting James in the eyes of his people, he would be the better able to secure the main object of his mission, which was the restoration of Mary and of the Catholic Church. Having won the confidence of the king, he set himself by means of French gold to secure the interest of the nobles. James showered favours upon him, created him Earl of Lennox, bestowed upon him the abbey of Arbroath, and made him Keeper of Dumbarton castle.

The clergy could not view the ascendancy of Lennox without alarm. They knew enough of his plans to put them on their guard, and they determined if possible to circumvent him. Melville, as we have seen, saved the Church from the weak position in which the policy of Morton placed it, and through its General Assembly it now began to speak on behalf of the people of Scotland, to act as the critic of the Government and the leader of public opinion. It is not too much to say, especially in view of the fact that the majority of its members at this time were laymen, that the General Assembly was the voice of Scot-

land. Lennox recognised the power of the Church, and attempted to allay its fears by ostentatiously announcing his conversion to Protestantism. But the ministers were not convinced, nor was Queen Elizabeth, who knew, perhaps better than they did, the real intentions of D'Aubigny. Two plots were now being hatched, each having James for its victim. Lennox wished to kidnap him to France, and Elizabeth to England. It was essential for the English monarch's scheme that Morton should be an accomplice. He in a weak moment consented, and Lennox, feeling that he had now the late Regent in his power, set about his destruction. He found a willing agent in Captain James Stewart, the second son of Lord Ochiltree, and Knox's brother-in-law, who shortly afterwards, as Earl of Arran, was to become D'Aubigny's rival and successor as the chief favourite of James. On the 31st December 1580, Stewart, falling at the feet of James, accused Morton before the Privy Council of being guilty of the death of Darnley. Morton was at once warded, afterwards imprisoned, tried, and condemned. The strongest man in Scotland was now out of D'Aubigny's way. Morton was not accused of treasonable dealing with Elizabeth; that might have revealed D'Aubigny's own plot. The Regent denied having had any 'art or part' in the murder of Darnley, although he knew of the bond that was formed to that end. He was executed in Edinburgh on the 2nd of June 1581. He died with dignity, and was followed to the scaffold by the pious and perhaps too persistent ministrations of the clergy. Morton was an able ruler, but unscrupulous and grasping. His religious professions may not have been very sincere, but he never wavered in his attachment to Protestantism, and in his belief in the English alliance.

The Church, under Melville's leading, was rapidly advancing to the position which it finally took up. Episcopacy was condemned at the Dundee Assembly of 1580, and in the following year the Assembly which met in Glasgow established the Presbyterian form of government as we now

know it. It also approved of the Second Book of Discipline, which, however, like the First, was never accepted by the State. Knox had left many questions unsolved; they could only be settled as individual cases arose. In the course of time, fixity of form in Church government became a necessity. It is this fixity which we find in the Church polity of Andrew Melville. In it Episcopacy is condemned, and Church and State are regarded as separate powers, each with its own special jurisdiction. Neither may invade the domain of the other; in particular, the State must not tamper with the authority of the Church. This principle, if principle it may be called, still survives, and the question which it raised can hardly be said to be as yet settled.

Melville's theory was soon to be put into practice. The archbishopric of Glasgow falling vacant, Lennox nominated Montgomery, minister of Stirling, to the see. It was a 'tulchan' appointment, and the favourite's simony was unblushing. The Church would not sanction the nomination, and although Montgomery was endowed with his share of the emoluments of the office, his spiritual superiors excommunicated him. This was a challenge which James could not ignore. He laughed good-humouredly at the indignities to which Montgomery was subjected, when the housewives of Edinburgh so pelted him with stones that he had to seek shelter and safety in the house of Lennox at Dalkeith; but the incident in its main features was not forgotten, when the real trial of strength between the Crown and the Kirk came. Lennox, who had now been made a Duke, and Stewart, who had been created Earl of Arran, quarrelled. They differed in religion, Lennox being a Roman Catholic, and Arran a Protestant. But the true cause of difference was that the younger man, who was an accomplished soldier and courtier, was in no mood to play a secondary part. Lennox, accordingly, in endeavouring to carry out his main scheme, was forced to act without him. Spain and the Pope now became active parties in his plot, and he assured them that he would carry the revolution

which he was meditating to a successful issue if they would supply him with 20,000 soldiers, and a sum of money sufficient to support them.

The scheme which Lennox was thus meditating came, however, to nothing. He was strongly opposed by the ministers and the people, by Elizabeth, and a large section of the nobility. He was convinced that something must be done speedily, if the plot which he had been hatching was ever to come to fruition. He accordingly determined on a *coup d'état*, which was nothing else than the taking of Edinburgh itself. This bold stroke was to be put into execution on the 27th August 1582, and, if successful, he would have had his chief opponents in his hands. But the Protestant lords forestalled him. Certain of them, who had been privy to, or who had taken part in, the murder of Riccio, learned that Lennox intended to charge them with the crime, and in order to save themselves, as well as to checkmate Lennox, they determined to seize the king. James happened during August to be hunting in Atholl, and spending a night in Perth, some of the Protestant lords invited him or constrained him next day to accompany them to the castle of Ruthven, or Huntingtower, three miles from the city. The Earls of Mar and Gowrie, and the Lords Lindsay, Boyd, and others were the leaders in this conspiracy. Next morning, James, finding himself a prisoner, began to cry, on which the Master of Glamis unsympathetically remarked, 'Better bairns greet than bearded men,' an expression James is said never to have forgotten nor forgiven. Arran, on hearing what had happened, and trusting to his old friendship with Gowrie, rode to the castle with two attendants only. He, too, was seized. This incident is known as the Raid of Ruthven.

Lennox now found himself in a very unfortunate position. The country was on the side of the Protestant lords, who issued a proclamation in the name of the king, demanding the departure of Lennox from the country before the 20th September. The ministers also took heart, and one

of them, John Durie, who had been expelled from Edinburgh, returned, amid the enthusiasm of the populace, who accompanied him up the High Street singing the 124th Psalm in four parts. Lennox, who heard the loud chorus, tore his beard in rage. He was forced to wander about the country, and at last, on the 20th December, he left for France, and died in the following May. James made his captors believe that he was perfectly contented and happy, and their vigilance being relaxed, he escaped on 27th June 1583 from Falkland to St Andrews, where he was welcomed by Huntly, Montrose, and others. Archbishop Hamilton had restored the castle, which had suffered so severely from the French siege after the death of Beaton, and Archbishop Adamson, its present occupant, welcomed James within its walls.

James, who was never happy without a favourite, placed Arran in Lennox's place. The earl appeared at court on the 5th August, and set himself to crush the Ruthven raiders. He first of all brought the ministers to book. John Durie was banished to Montrose, and Andrew Melville, for comparing the king's mother to Nebuchadnezzar, was summoned before the Privy Council. He denied the jurisdiction of the court. He was ordered to be warded in Blackness castle, but he seized an opportunity for escape, and fled to Berwick-on-Tweed. An attempt on the part of the Protestant lords, which was supported by Lords Claud and John Hamilton, who, although Roman Catholics, hated Arran as a usurper, to whom had been given their family title and estates, was successfully met by the activity of James himself. Those who were parties to this movement sought safety in flight; but Gowrie, who kept lingering at Dundee, loath to leave his vast estates, and the new gallery which he had built and filled with pictures, was caught, tried, and executed. Arran was now supreme. He induced James to enjoy himself, while he sat at the Council board. He represented to the members that the proposals which he laid before them

were at the suggestion of the king, and then he informed the king of what he declared were the resolutions of the Council. He was thus practically the ruler of Scotland.

James now felt himself in a position strong enough to carry out the policy which he had at heart, which he had for long meditated, and from which he never swerved during the remainder of his reign. In the Parliament which met in May 1584 certain Acts, known as the 'Black Acts,' were passed. They seemed to sound the death-knell of Presbyterianism. By them it was decreed that the king was the head of the Church as well as of the State; that no Assemblies could be held without his sanction; that bishops were to be appointed; that their appointment was to be by him; and that any minister who should express an opinion on public affairs would be guilty of treason. These Acts, unlike many of those passed by the Scottish Parliament, were not to remain dead letters. James and Arran determined on having them carried out. It was therefore decreed that every minister between Stirling and Berwick-on-Tweed was to appear before Archbishop Adamson on the 16th December and sign these Acts, on pain of being ousted from his benefice. Many of the leading ministers sought safety in England, but the majority obeyed the king's summons and signed the Acts. It was a clever move on the part of James, for the first step was taken in the formation of two parties in the Church, Presbyterians on the one hand, and on the other those who, by the force of circumstances, came in the end to support, if not altogether to believe in, Episcopacy.

The ascendancy of Arran was, however, soon to come to an end. Patrick, Master of Gray, was employed as an agent on the part of James in strengthening the English alliance with a view, of course, to his succession to the throne of Elizabeth. Gray played his part well, but he had a private interest of his own which he at the same time wished to further, and the success of this depended upon the disgrace of Arran. Elizabeth was at one with him in this aim, and Gray's

counsel was that the banished lords should be sent back to Scotland to head an insurrection. An incident occurred which gave the opportunity that was needed. In a conflict that took place between the followers of the Scottish and English Wardens of the Marches, Lord Russell, son of Lord Bedford, was killed. Elizabeth charged Arran with being the instigator of the deed, and she demanded of James that the earl should be put into her power. James refused, but warded Arran in St Andrews. The hour had now arrived for the return of the Scottish lords. They speedily gained many adherents, and Lord Maxwell joined them. They marched to Stirling, which they reached on the 2nd of November 1585, and Arran, who felt himself powerless to oppose them, fled.

The last part of Arran's career can be soon told. He appeared once or twice again at court and on the stage of public affairs, but only like a meteor. His steps were dogged by the Douglasses, who never forgave him for the part which he played in compassing the death of Morton. One of that house, James Douglas of Torthorwald, bided his time until the opportunity presented itself of doing Arran to death. This occurred many years after the earl's fall. Arran chanced to be riding through Lanarkshire. He pursued his journey to Selkirkshire, and on entering Catslack Glen, he discovered that he was followed by this same James Douglas, with one or two companions. On being overtaken he was unhorsed, and while he lay on the ground was killed.

On the 5th July 1586, a treaty was entered into with England, which showed the influence of the restored lords. Friendly relations were established between the two countries, and James was enriched by a grant of £4000 a year from Elizabeth. This was professedly in lieu of his grandfather's lands in England. The king's relations towards the Church remained unchanged, and the division which he had created among the ministers still continued. This served his purpose in carrying out the policy, which he kept steadily before him, of establishing Episcopacy in

Scotland. The high-flying tendencies of Andrew Melville and his party were to be kept in check by the moderate party, which in reality always existed, and which James did his best to foster. A pause, however, took place in the contest between Church and State, for news reached Scotland towards the end of 1586 of the fate that threatened Mary Stewart, the king's mother. She was accused and was about to be tried for alleged complicity in the Babington Plot, whose object was the death of Queen Elizabeth. James's natural instincts ought to have stirred him to make every effort to save his mother, but he was only two years of age when she fled to England, and he had never seen her since. Besides, his subjects were divided, and he knew that if his mother were out of the way, he would be next to the English throne. To succeed Elizabeth was the great aim of his life. Protests, of course, were made, and embassies were sent to negotiate for Mary's life, but the Scottish king's efforts were only half-hearted. Mary was found guilty and sentenced to death. She met her doom with the same courage which animated her all her life. With her execution, on the 8th February 1587, there ended the sorrows and sufferings of the marvellous woman, the rival of Cleopatra and Helen of Troy, who during her lifetime was the stormy petrel of European politics, and since her death has been the problem of historians and the heroine of poets.

The year 1587 is memorable for several events, one of which was purely personal to James himself, and the others constitutional and far-reaching in their nature. On the 14th May the king entertained the nobility to a banquet at Holyrood. On the following night he headed a procession of them to the castle, and thereafter, at the Market Cross, he made them all drink the cup of kindness and swear eternal friendship. This was a specimen of James's lighter mood; but the two Acts which he passed in July of the same year were more lasting. He appropriated all ecclesiastical property, thus making Episcopacy as a force

in the country impossible, for while he secured their stipends to the parochial clergy, he made no provision for bishops ; his son Charles I.'s efforts to recover for the new hierarchy the Church's property was one of the chief causes of the defeat of his scheme. The other Act recognised the power of the smaller barons to choose commissioners to represent them in Parliament. The following year witnessed the departure of the Armada from the ports of Spain. On the 8th July 1588, the great fleet which Philip had created for the conquest of England set sail. The Scots were afraid that a landing might be made on their shores, and they bestirred themselves in the cause of national defence. All, however, that they saw of the Armada, was stray vessels that had escaped the English fleet, or fled before the storms which drove them round Scotland, and on to its rock-bound coast. All the same, James was suspected, and not without cause, of being privy, if not a party, to Spanish plots, which had for their aim the conquest of Britain and the re-establishing of the Roman Church. Proof of James's complicity in various attempts of this kind are to be found ; and his lenient treatment of the Earls of Huntly and Errol, who were discovered to be in secret treaty with Philip of Spain, roused the wrath of the Protestant clergy and people. The king, nevertheless, temporised as long as he could, for he did not know but that the Catholic Church might some day be in the ascendant, and as it was the great object of his life to succeed Elizabeth, he wished to keep on friendly terms with those who might have the power to prevent him mounting the English throne.

James now resolved on matrimony, and the bride selected was Anne, the second daughter of Frederick II. of Denmark. She was expected in Scotland in September 1589. Storms delayed her voyage, and James determined to sail for Denmark and bring her home himself. He intended to be absent for twenty days, but remained away six months. On the 1st May 1590 he and his bride arrived at Leith, and on the 17th of the same month she was crowned in the Abbey

Kirk of Holyrood. The officiating clergyman was Robert Bruce, one of the leading Scottish ministers. It is in the following year, 1591, that we first hear of the madcap exploits of the Earl of Bothwell. He could boast of James v. as his grandfather, and the sister of his more notorious namesake, Queen Mary's husband, as his mother. We hear of him breaking into the Tolbooth; of being accused of employing witches to create a storm so as to prevent the king's return; of forcibly entering Holyrood; of surrounding Falkland Palace, where he nearly captured the king; of taking possession of Holyrood Palace once more with a strong following, and dictating terms to the king; of raiding Leith; and finally joining the Catholic earls in a fresh Romish plot. This last act of his was his undoing, for he had hitherto been a Protestant, and had the countenance of the Church, but not only was that withdrawn, but the Presbyterians turned upon him. Finding his cause to be lost, he fled from the country, and died some time afterwards in Naples in obscurity and poverty. The lawless state of the country, and the king's inability to restrain evildoers, are further seen in the fate that befell the 'Bonnie Earl o' Moray.' His estates were coveted by, among others, Thirlestane, the Lord Chancellor, and James himself was suspected of being privy to the crime. It was the Earl of Huntly, Moray's bitter enemy, who was entrusted with the task of bringing the earl to Edinburgh. He found him at Donibristle, near Aberdour. The house was set on fire; Moray escaped to the shore, where he was overtaken by Huntly, who slew him. There was strong indignation at this ruthless deed, for Moray was popular. The nation was greatly incensed at the lawlessness which prevailed, and James and the Lord Chancellor endeavoured to appease the wrath of the clergy and the people by passing an Act (contemplated and thought out, it must be admitted, two years previously) in May of 1592, which has ever since been regarded as the Magna Charta of the Church of Scotland. By this Act, 'all previous legislation in favour of the Church

was ratified, Presbyterianism was formally sanctioned, and the severe measures against the old Church were to be put in force.' It was during this year that the plot known as the Spanish Blanks was discovered. It was another and final effort on the part of the Catholic earls to secure the aid of Philip of Spain in effecting a revolution in favour of the Roman Church. The discovery of this plot so stirred the nation that James was compelled to give up his temporising policy, and bring Huntly and Errol to book. He marched against them. They, however, refused to give him battle, and were finally compelled to leave the country.

The lawless state of Scotland is further seen in a bloody encounter which took place in 1593 between the Johnstones and the Maxwells. Peaceful relations had been established between these two clans, but it only required a spark to light the old fires of feudal enmity. This was supplied through a Johnstone raiding Upper Nithsdale. Lord Maxwell, who was Warden of the West Marches, felt it to be his duty to punish the offender. The Johnstones, resenting this, took up arms, and the two clans met at Dryfe Sands near Lockerbie. The Johnstones were victorious, and their chief rode home with Maxwell's head dangling from his saddle. From the number of wounds in the face that were inflicted in this encounter, a 'Lockerbie lick' became a proverb. Lord Maxwell was a strong Catholic, and with him and the northern earls out of the way, there was little danger of a fresh Romish plot. Indeed, from this time onwards, no Catholic rising ever seriously disturbed the fortunes of Scotland. But it was not left to the nobility alone to defy authority. The boys of the Edinburgh High School, in 1595, having been defrauded of a part of their autumn holiday, to the number of sixteen, took possession of the building, and defied attack. A leading citizen, Bailie Macmorran by name, headed a body of officials, and endeavoured to bring the boys to terms. They replied by shooting him through the head. A number of them were

imprisoned, but being the sons of nobles, they were after a time liberated. One more tale has to be told of the lawless condition of the country. William Armstrong of Kinmont, better known as 'Kinmont Willie,' was seized by the English during a time of truce. This action was strongly resented by the Scots, and 'the bold Buccleuch,' who was Warden of the Marches, set out with a following of 200 men for the castle of Carlisle, where the noted Border freebooter was imprisoned. By means of ladders the castle walls were scaled, the garrison was overpowered, and the prisoner liberated. The English queen cried loudly for redress. The Scots, maintaining that the English were the aggressors, would take no serious steps to punish Buccleuch.

By the death in 1595 of Thirlestane, the Lord Chancellor, the Church lost a good friend. He died in disgrace, his fall having come about by his supporting the queen in her efforts to get the young prince out of the hands of Mar, who was the Hereditary Guardian of the heir to the throne. James, in place of appointing a successor to Thirlestane, chose eight men, known from their number as the Octavians, who were specially charged with putting the finances of the nation into order. Being now free of any restraining hand, and satisfied with the result of the Octavians' labours, the king set himself to carry out his policy in regard to the Church. He was bent upon the suppression of Presbyterianism. The ministers had till then depended upon the support of the nobles, but James bought them over by liberal grants of the temporalities of the Church which he had secured for the crown. He had for long resented the pretensions of men like Andrew Melville, who on one occasion plucked him by the sleeve and called him 'God's sillie vassal,' reminding him at the same time that although he was king of Scotland, he was only, like everybody else, a subject in that kingdom whose Head was Christ. If James aimed at being supreme above both State and Church, the Melvillian party also aimed at much the same thing. The issue, which was now becoming daily

clearer, was soon put to the proof. David Black, minister of St Andrews, had spoken disrespectfully of Queen Elizabeth; the English ambassador complained to James, who summoned Black before him. The minister denied the right of any civil court to judge him or his words. The king replied by warding him north of the river Esk, and by banishing a number of the ministers from Edinburgh. It was in the capital that Melville and his friends found their chief support, and an incident took place which James astutely used against them. A rumour having spread of a Catholic plot, the Tolbooth in which James was sitting with his Council was invaded by a Protestant mob. With difficulty the tumult was quelled, but the king took his court to Linlithgow, informing the magistrates of Edinburgh at the same time that owing to the misbehaviour of the citizens he found it unsafe to reside there. This cooled the ardour of the Protestants of Edinburgh, who, whatever their private beliefs and feelings may have been, found it to be to their interest to allow the clergy to fight their own battles in the future.

Having thus weakened the two main supports of the extreme Presbyterian party, James felt himself safe in calling an Assembly to meet at Perth in February 1597 to advance his scheme a step further. Many of the ministers from the north, who had not hitherto attended any Assembly, were now induced to come to Perth, partly because it was nearer to their own homes than Edinburgh, and partly owing to pressure brought to bear upon them by the king. They were not so strongly Presbyterian as Melville and his friends, and James succeeded in carrying in the Assembly all that he wished. At a meeting subsequently held in Dundee, Church Commissioners were appointed, and they recommended that all ministers provided to prelaties should have a seat and a vote in Parliament. In the following year (1598) the Assembly agreed that ministers should be appointed as prelates and have votes, and that the Kirk should select six names, to be presented to the king, from

which he should choose one to fill any vacancy. In 1600 the final step was taken; in October of that year the Ecclesiastical Commission met in Edinburgh, and appointed three diocesan bishops to the sees of Ross, Aberdeen, and Caithness. Thus was Presbyterianism practically suppressed. It was in the same year (1600) that what is known as the Gowrie Conspiracy took place. The man who figured most prominently in the affair, next to the king himself, was the Master of Ruthven, brother of the Earl of Gowrie. The earl also had a share in the incident, but it was the Master who played the most active part. Young Gowrie was only in his twenty-second year. He had but three months before returned from the Continent, where he had completed his education, having studied at several leading universities, Padua among others. He was a handsome and an accomplished soldier and courtier. He passed through England on his way home, and was shown marked favour by Queen Elizabeth.

It was at the earl's house in Perth where what follows took place. The account of the conspiracy was given by James himself, and it is the only account we have. According to the king, on the morning of the 5th August, when he was preparing to mount his horse at Falkland Palace, in view of a day's hunting, he was accosted by the Master of Ruthven, who told him that on the previous night he had found in Perth a man who had concealed under his cloak a pot of gold. He told the king to ride at once to Perth and take possession of the treasure. James replied that he could not claim it, but Ruthven declared that the coins were his, for they were most probably sent to this country to further some plot. The king's interest was quickened, and after the hunt he accompanied the Master to Perth. Only a few of his Court rode with him. When they came to the South Inch they were met by the Earl of Gowrie with eighty horsemen. The king's visit was evidently unexpected, for no preparations had been made, and the royal supper that night was poor and late. After

the meal Ruthven took the king through various rooms and passages, the doors of which he carefully locked after him, to a dark stair that led to a turret, where there was a little room called the study. In it there was a solitary stranger, who was armed. The Master seized the man's dagger, and pointing it at the king's breast, declared that if he did not keep quiet or attempted to cry out of the window he would kill him. James reasoned with Ruthven, who said that he must tell his brother the Earl, and he left the room to fetch him, locking the door behind him. He shortly afterwards returned, and told the king that he must die. While they were struggling together Sir John Ramsay and one or two more of the king's followers, who had heard the shouts of James from the window, rushed up the stair and broke into the turret. Ruthven was slain, and the Earl, who appeared on the scene, was also dispatched.

It has not as yet been decided as to what amount of truth there may be in this story. James published his version everywhere, but it was not generally believed. The only object they could have was the kidnapping of the king; but how could two youths with no supporters ever hope to accomplish such a thing? They may have been animated by revenge, for James had sent their father to the scaffold, but they must have known that to kill the king would certainly mean their own death, and the ruin of their house. James himself was not without good motives for getting Gowrie out of his way. He owed him £80,000, and Gowrie, besides, had withstood him in the Council. It was the young men's grandfather who had been chiefly instrumental in the murder of Riccio, and it was their father who was the author of the Ruthven Raid. James was very vindictive and cruel. His mendacity was notorious. He was accordingly quite capable of accomplishing the death of Gowrie and his brother, and of lying publicly about it. He commanded the ministers of Edinburgh to publish his version in the pulpit, and the 5th August was ever after

to be set aside for a day of national thanksgiving for the preservation of his sacred person and precious life.

James's thoughts for the next few years more and more turned towards England, for Elizabeth's death could not be far off, and the Scottish king had every reason to hope that he would be her successor. One or two events worth noting took place in his ancient kingdom of Scotland before he mounted the English throne. He endeavoured in 1599 to restore order in the Highlands and Islands. He demanded, among other things, that every landlord should produce his title-deeds, and the M'Leods of Lewis having failed to do this, James took their island from them and handed it over to a colony from the mainland, who were afterwards known as the 'gentlemen adventurers of Fife.' On the 7th February 1603, just a month before his accession to the English throne, there took place what is known as the 'Slaughter in the Lennox,' or the 'Conflict of Glen Fruin.' The Macgregors and some other clans, to the number of 400, made a raid into Lennox, and slew eighty of the Lennox men. James visited the offending clan with a terrible vengeance. He dispossessed them, and suppressed their name.

The prize for which James had been longing for so many years was now at last his. On the night of Saturday, the 24th March 1603, news arrived at Holyrood that Elizabeth was dead. The messenger was Sir Robert Carey, who had ridden from London in less than three days. Two days later official information reached him from the Privy Council that Elizabeth had named him as her successor, and that his way was now open to the English throne. James lost no time in setting out on his journey to England. At the close of public service on Sunday, the 3rd of April, he bade a characteristic farewell to his people, and on the 5th of the same month he began his journey south. James promised that he would visit his ancient kingdom every three years, but during the twenty-five years of rule that still lay before him he visited it only once.

The union of the two crowns meant a great deal for Scotland. It opened up fresh prospects of advancement for its enterprising spirits, but, so far as the national outlook was concerned, it meant a diminution of the prestige and a reduction of the power of the country, and a limitation, if not actual suppression, of that self-government both in State and Church which the new times had promised to the people. These disadvantages were only temporary, but they were deplorable enough while they lasted. They made fresh demands upon the temper and enterprise of the people before they could be removed. Scotland naturally sank in importance, so far as its relation to foreign countries was concerned; and the method of governing it which James adopted threatened the destruction of its free institutions. He ruled the country through his Privy Council, which he used as an instrument for coercing both Parliament and the General Assembly. Some years after he ascended the English throne he made the following boast: 'This I may say for Scotland, and I may truly vaunt it; I write, and it is done; and by a Clerk of the Council I govern Scotland now, which others could not do by the sword.' The question naturally arises: how was James able to do this? Was he the ablest ruler of all his race, or had the Scots become pusillanimous in spirit? The answer is not to be found in an affirmative to either question. His power is accounted for by the fact that he made liberal gifts to the nobles of the Church lands which he had appropriated to the Crown, and thus won to his side those who had been the chief opponents of his predecessors. The bribery to which he resorted was continued after he went to England, and he accordingly held in the hollow of his hand the men who ruled in Parliament and controlled his Privy Council. In an earlier period the controlling combination used to be Crown and people against the nobles, but now it was Crown and nobles against the people. The property of the Church was taken from it, and by its means James secured the help of those

by whom he intended to crush the Church, already sorely stricken and impoverished, and to bring it into absolute subjection to his will. His policy may have been astute, but it was contemptible, and although for the time being successful, it met in the end with the crushing defeat which it so richly deserved.

The chief interest of James during the remainder of his reign, so far as Scotland was concerned, was to bring its Church, in both government and ritual, into line with that of England. It took him almost twenty years to accomplish it, but he might justly boast before he died that he had, so far as outward appearances were concerned, succeeded. His first step was to crush the General Assembly, and that he did by taking from the Church the right to call its meetings. An Assembly had been called, to meet at Aberdeen in July 1605. The Privy Council threatened every minister who should attend it with outlawry. Nineteen put in an appearance, and the Court was constituted. The Privy Council ordered them to dismiss the Assembly, and not to call another without the sanction of the king. They closed the Assembly, but before doing so they called another to meet on the last Tuesday of September. Ten more ministers who had been delayed on their journey now arrived, and associated themselves with the others. James was furious, and caused thirteen of the ministers, who stood to their protest, to answer to the Council. On their denying its jurisdiction, they were condemned. James then instituted a second trial, charging them with treason for having denied the competency of the Court. Six of the ten were brought to trial, and because Edinburgh was supposed to be friendly to the accused, Linlithgow was chosen as the place of meeting. James packed the Court with his own creatures, but notwithstanding this, the accused were found guilty by a bare majority only. The six ministers were driven into exile, and never allowed to return again to their native land.

James felt that so long as Andrew Melville was in the

country his policy was in danger of defeat. Accordingly, under the pretence of wishing to confer with them on Church affairs, he invited Melville, his brother James and six others of the leading clergy to London. Several conferences, fruitless in their results, as they were no doubt intended to be, took place ; and at the end of eight months the ministers, with the exception of the two Melvilles, were allowed to return to Scotland. James Melville was warded at Berwick-on-Tweed, and Andrew, because of a biting epigram which he wrote on the English Church, was imprisoned for three years in the Tower, and afterwards banished. He died professor of theology in Sedan. James could now breathe freely ; having driven from the country his chief opponents, he advanced with rapid strides in his policy of assimilating the Scottish to the English Church. In 1610 he set up two Courts of High Commission, which were to take note of all ' offences in life and religion.' They were entrusted with the power of imposing fines and causing imprisonment. James, through these courts, could strike at any one whom he wished to silence or crush. They were prime instruments in his hands for tyranny. In an Assembly which met the same year in Glasgow, he, by means of bribes and threats, got it to approve of all he had done. Presbytery was thus abolished, bishops with diocesan powers were set up, Assemblies could be called at the king's will, and the holders of ecclesiastical sees were nominated by the king. To give the hierarchy its needed air of apostolic sanctity, he summoned Archbishop Spottiswoode and two other bishops to London, and caused them to be consecrated by the bishops of the English Church, who were held to be in direct ecclesiastical descent from the Apostles. A Parliament which met in 1612 ratified all that had been done, and thus, so far as legal sanction was concerned, Episcopacy was duly set up in Scotland. James had good cause to rejoice ; but a day of reckoning was at hand. His system of Church government was imposed upon the nation in direct opposition to the will of the people,

and the people, when their day of power again arrived, cast it to the wind.

James, so far, had only carried out half of the scheme which he had in his mind for making the Church of Scotland, at least outwardly, conform in all respects to that of England. It was to be one in worship as well as in government with its neighbour. He now started on a venture which in the end brought to naught what he had already accomplished. A Church may submit to a change in its government, but a sudden and drastic transformation of its forms of worship it will not endure. James was in due course to find this out. In an Assembly which met on the 13th of August 1616 at Aberdeen, he secured its sanction to a new Confession, a new Catechism, and a new Liturgy, none of which, however, came into general use; and he indicated that there were certain other changes which he had at heart. These were kneeling at communion, private communion, private baptism, the observance of the Christian festivals, and confirmation by bishops. James, on the 13th of May 1617, paid his first and only visit to Scotland. He was received with much loyalty, and an indication of his main object in returning to his ancient kingdom was found in the services which he held at the Royal Chapel at Holyrood. They were pronouncedly Anglican. He wished the Estates to make him supreme in all matters ecclesiastical, but meeting with opposition, he dropped his proposals. He then endeavoured to induce a Convention of the clergy, which met at St Andrews, to accept of the five proposals which he submitted to the Assembly that met at Aberdeen, but without success. He returned to England with his main object unaccomplished. Determined to carry through his reform in worship as well as in government, he packed an Assembly which met at Perth (August 16, 1618) with his own creatures. The meeting was subservient, and sanctioned his proposals, which have ever since been known as the 'Five Articles of Perth.' The opposition to them, as was anticipated, was deep.

Kneeling at communion in particular was looked upon as idolatry. The churches in which the Articles were enforced were forsaken by the people, and the storm was being brewed which was to burst a few years later in all its fury on the head of James's own son, Charles I. To give what he had done an air of legality, James, in a Parliament which met in 1621, caused the Five Articles of Perth and the acceptance of them by the Assembly to be ratified as a part of the law of the land. The day on which the Articles were confirmed was a Saturday, and was henceforth known as 'Black Saturday.' Even the heavens thundered their disapproval of the Act, for as the Commissioner touched it with the sceptre, flashes of lightning followed by peals of thunder startled the members. This was regarded by opponents as tokens of Divine wrath, but by James's supporters as signs of Divine approval. For as 'the law was given with fire from Mount Sinai,' they declared, 'so did these fires confirm their laws.' But Acts of Parliament, though backed by the fiat of the king, could not bend the Church. Its members were now a force to be reckoned with. The Scottish people were at last taking their destiny into their own hands, and coercion was to prove of no avail. The Perth Articles remained dead letters. Even the bishops were alarmed, for as late as May 1623 Spottiswoode wrote : 'And for our Church matters, they are gone, unless another course be taken.' This, from an Episcopalian and one of James's chief supporters, was more ominous than the thunder and lightning, and the swan, 'muttering her natural song,' which flew over the heads of the lords as they rode to Parliament on that 'Black Saturday.'

While James's chief interest in Scotland after he ascended the English throne was ecclesiastical, his busy brain was also taken up with a project which would bring the two kingdoms into political conformity. Between the years 1604 and 1607 he was active in pushing forward a scheme for an incorporating union of the two countries. His proposals came to naught, for the time was not ripe. A century

had to elapse before this could be accomplished. The two nations still looked askance at each other. The English abused the Scots for their greed. Readers of Sir Walter Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel* are familiar with the picture which is drawn in that romance of needy adventurers from North Britain flocking into England, and devouring all the tit-bits of patronage that were in the hands of the court. The Scots resented the sneers of the English, and although the Commissioners who were appointed drew up a scheme of union that had much to recommend it, the English Parliament, when it came before it in 1607, was almost unanimous in its rejection. The Scots Parliament, wishing, perhaps, to humour the king, gave it a half-hearted support. No more was to be seriously heard of the subject till the days of Cromwell.

James also set himself to the task of reducing to law and order the disturbed regions of the country. Sufficient indication has already been given of the lawlessness of Scotland during the earlier part of his reign. Free fights were common even on the streets of Edinburgh. But there were three districts above all others that demanded the instant care of the Government. These were the Highlands and Islands, the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and the Borders. It was to the first of these that James directed his earliest attention. The seat of unrest was in the Southern Hebrides, chiefly in Islay and Kintyre, and the instigators of lawlessness were, as before, the Clan Donald. Three attempts were made in succession to bring the Highland chiefs into subjection, the first by Lord Scone, the second by the Earl of Argyll, and the third by Lord Ochiltree. It was the last which proved effective. It must be admitted that unless the State had in this enterprise obtained the aid of the Church, the project would have failed. Ochiltree had with him Andrew Knox, the Bishop of the Isles. The chiefs were summoned to meet the king's representatives at Aros Castle in Mull. They attended in large numbers. Ochiltree invited them to the king's ship, that they might

hear a sermon from the bishop, and once they were on board, he informed them that they were prisoners. He then set sail for Ayr, with the chiefs safely under hatches, and he afterwards distributed them among three of the main strongholds, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, and Blackness. In August of 1609 the chiefs were invited to meet Bishop Knox in Iona, when what is known as the 'Band and Statutes of Icolmkill' were agreed to. These statutes were nine in number, and their fulfilment did much to bring peace into the Southern Hebrides. One of them in particular, which enjoined that the eldest son or daughter of every gentleman was to be sent for his education to the Lowlands, accounted for the loyalty at a later date of the Highlands to the house of Stewart. Four years later the Macdonalds were again in revolt, but they were speedily put down, and gave in future very little trouble to the Government.

It is rather singular that whenever disturbances arose in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, it was not, as a rule, the natives themselves that were chiefly to blame, but the man who for the time being chanced to be the leading noble. He was usually an outlander, and in the present instance, when order had to be introduced in these outlying possessions the offender was Patrick Stewart, commonly known as 'Earl Pate,' a cousin of the king. He was imprisoned in Edinburgh in 1609, but he somehow managed, even at so great a distance and under such restrictions, to foment sedition in his remote domains. His chief agent was his illegitimate son, Robert Stewart, a youth of twenty, who showed more enterprise of a lawless kind than even his notorious father. He also was captured, and taken to Edinburgh, where he was executed on the 6th of January 1615; his father, the 'Earl Pate,' sharing a similar fate a month later.

The Borders were now to be finally reduced to order. The immediate cause of the strong measures which were adopted was the murder, in 1600 by the Armstrongs, of Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the West Marches, and a raid

by the same clan in 1603, when they penetrated as far south as Penrith. Sir William Selby was ordered to march from Berwick, of which he was captain, into the district of the offending clan, and in 1605 Commissioners, comprising Scotsmen and Englishmen in equal numbers, were appointed to punish and to prevent crime in the Borders. A body of twenty-five mounted police was also organised, and so effective was their work, that in 1606 their chief could report that peace prevailed in the Borders. The method of producing order was rough and ready, and came to be known as 'Jeddart justice,' hang first and try afterwards.

We have already seen how James attempted to colonise the island of Lewis, by introducing the 'gentlemen adventurers' from Fife. Two attempts of a similar nature now fall to be recorded. In March 1609 James offered, on certain conditions, 147,000 acres of land in Ulster to Scotsmen, who were prepared to accept the terms. The king was able to make this offer because of the land in the north of Ireland which had fallen to the crown through the suppression of the rebellion under Sir Cahir O'Doherty. In 1610 fifty-nine Scots accepted the conditions, and 81,000 acres, subdivided into lots, were apportioned among them. In this way began the Scottish invasion of Ireland, and the enterprise and prosperity of Ulster. Another proposal of the king's which did not meet with so immediate success was his founding of Nova Scotia. Thirty thousand acres and a baronetcy were offered to Scotsmen on the payment of 6000 merks, or, should this prove prohibitive, for sending six skilled workmen and their maintenance in the colony for two years. The king's intention was that younger sons of gentlemen, who found difficulty in supporting themselves, or in making their way at home, should enter upon this venture. But while quite a number were willing to accept a baronetcy, very few were ready to emigrate to the distant colony. The way, however, was prepared for the departure to our greatest Dominion of that race of Scotsmen who are giving

every promise of raising it in the future to a prominent place among the countries of the world.

Much of James's policy was dictated by purely personal motives. This is clearly brought out in his dealings with the Roman Catholics, who still formed a considerable proportion of his subjects. As long as his accession to the English throne was uncertain, he dallied with them, for they were an important factor in deciding his chances of success. But once he obtained his heart's desire, his attitude towards them changed, and his treatment of them became much more severe. The occasion for his later policy is found in the Gunpowder Plot, in which James saw a danger to his own life. This set in motion all the vindictiveness of his nature. Still, notwithstanding the laws against Catholics, which made their lives unsafe, only one victim fell in Scotland. This was the Jesuit Ogilvie, who was arrested in Glasgow in 1615, and soon after tried and executed in Edinburgh.

James died on the 27th March 1625. With the exception of Andrew Melville and Lord Chancellor Thirlestane, no man with outstanding abilities was thrown up to the surface of the national life by the contest between Church and State in Scotland. James himself was the most important personage. He bulked in the public eye more than any of his fellow-countrymen, and this not so much because of his position as king, as for the characteristics which marked his personality and career. Pictures of him are numerous, and they, in all their incongruity, are true indications of the mind within. Among the many sketches of his appearance and character which exist, the most powerful and stinging is that of Sir Anthony Weldon. 'It may be doubted,' says Mr. Hill Burton, 'if there is in the English language a more thoroughly finished picture of a shambling lout.' 'He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto-proof; his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timid disposition, which was the greatest

reason of his quilted doublets. His eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, inasmuch as many for shame have left the room, being out of countenance. His beard was very thin, his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him speak full in the mouth and made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth. His skin was as soft as taffeta sarcenet, which felt so because he never washed his hands, only rubbed his finger-ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin. His legs were very weak, having had as was thought some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age—that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders. His walk was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walk fiddling about his codpiece. He was very temperate in his exercises and in his diet, and not intemperate in his drinking ; however, in his old age, and Buckingham's jovial suppers, when he had any turn to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, which he would the very next day remember and repent with tears. It is true he drank very often, which was rather out of a custom than any delight ; and his drinks were of that kind of strength, as frontenac, canary, high country wine, tent, and strong ale, that had he not had a very strong brain might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any time above four spoonfuls, many times not above one or two.'

Such was the man who made it the great aim of his life to bring the Church of Scotland into conformity with that of England, so that he and his successors might rule over both countries as absolute monarchs.

CHAPTER XXIX

REFORMATION SCOTLAND

THE chief interest of Scotland, from the accession of Mary to the union of the Parliaments, centred in the Protestant Revolution and its subsequent developments. Scottish history during that long period is therefore mainly religious. It is, accordingly, of importance to understand the principles which guided the country and found expression in the different conflicts that took place between the State and the Church. It should be noted to begin with, that the Reformation in Scotland was a moral and not an intellectual revolution. It had little to do with the revival of learning which so markedly affected other parts of Western Europe. Indeed it rather banned than blessed the Renaissance. Even George Buchanan, one of the greatest humanists of his day, became absorbed, when he returned to his native land, in the religious aspect of the revolution that was taking place. It was the corruptions of the Church, the degradation of the clergy and the unloosening of moral bonds among the people as a whole, that roused Knox and his colleagues to vigorous action. True religion was gone, and what they saw they declared to be idolatry and an utter disregard for righteous conduct and pure life. The movement was at first countenanced and supported by many of the nobles who called themselves the 'Lords of the Congregation.' But as a class they were interested not so much in the reform of religion or in the improvement of morals as in securing the temporalities of the Church. When it came to the point, and the decision, which the First Book of Discipline forced upon them, had to be made between Christ and Barabbas—between the good of

the Church and their own pockets—they chose Barabbas. They would not give up the Church lands which they had already seized, nor relinquish their hope of getting more. The Protestant clergy might be starved, education might be unsupported and the poor neglected,—all that mattered nothing to them, so long as the Church lands remained in their hands. The result was that a breach took place between Knox and his aristocratic friends, and he fell back upon the people. It was then that the ‘Commons’ of Scotland wakened to a sense of their country’s needs and their own rights. They saw the Reformation and their own position in the nation firmly established.

Another fact calls for notice. Mary, while deciding for religious toleration, kept steadfastly to her own faith. She undoubtedly influenced many, who before her coming were professedly Protestant; and even Lethington and Moray supported her in her demand to be permitted to worship according to the rites of her own Church. Knox saw the danger of this, and when subsequent events, especially the massacre of St Bartholomew, made it clear that Popery was still the danger, he roused the people to a sense of the calamity which might again befall them unless the ancient Church were uprooted. The court and the nobles were practically indifferent, if not hostile, and it was the Commons of Scotland who once more took the matter into their own hands and fought the issue out. At a later period, in the reign of James, the same danger of Popery, once more prevailing, ever kept the people on the alert; and when the king and his Council dallied with the Roman Catholics, it was the Reformed Church that warned the country of the danger, and insisted upon the enemy being watched and defeated.

We thus see how the Reformation created the Commons of Scotland, and formed them at the same time into what might be called in our day a great opposition party. John Knox was the leader in this movement. The government of the day would have crushed the people;

Knox would not allow them to be crushed. On the contrary he infused into them a spirit of independence and gave them a conception of their rights and duties, which lifted them at once into a new Estate in the realm, and one that has gone on increasing in strength and power till the present time.

We thus see how the seeds were sown of that conflict between the State and the Church which reached its acutest stage in the reign of James VI. This conflict again and again disturbed the even tenor of the national life, nor can it be said to have even yet come to an end. The Church, which now became the representative of the people, was driven into an attitude of defence, if not defiance, by the action of the governing classes. The aristocracy, who had hitherto been practically the sole rulers of the country, by their selfishness drove the people into political revolt, and James, finding that he and his government were now subject to criticism and even to opposition, for which they themselves in the first instance were absolutely responsible, endeavoured to crush the institution which dared to take such liberties. It is at this point we find Andrew Melville coming forward with his theory of 'the two kingdoms,' and separate jurisdictions, that of the State and that of the Church. The question had not risen in Knox's day; it arose now. We see the two powers fighting against each other with varying results. Now it is the Church, again it is the State, that is triumphant. The quarrel would never have sprung up had it not been for the shameless treatment which the Church had received; and the Scottish people cannot be grateful enough to Andrew Melville for having taken up the gage of battle.

James hit upon the expedient of clipping the wings of the Church by the introduction of a pseudo-episcopacy. He determined upon creating bishops, who in the Scottish Church were bound to be no bishops at all; for the Church of Knox recognised no caste, the laity were priests quite as much as the clergy. The Church could not be represented

in Parliament by sending bishops there, for it was not an Estate of the realm. It was already represented by its lay members. So the Scottish Church can never be Episcopal in the true sense, let ever so many bishops be created, until its constitution be thoroughly recast and the clergy be recognised as a separate order. James, however, persevered in his policy, which, in place of meeting with the result that he desired, simply made the gulf wider between Kirk and State, laid the seeds of those troubles which had for one result the execution of his son and successor, and were not finally settled until the Revolution of 1688.

It may, of course, be said that even that Revolution did not give everything it wanted to the Church. It did not recognise it as a theocracy for which Melville contended. The answer to this is simple and clear. That Revolution paved the way for those constitutional changes which made it unnecessary for the Church to be a theocracy. It soon was able to make its influence felt, its wishes known, and its desires carried out without such a claim being pressed. For what did the Church as a theocracy mean to Melville? To him it was only another term for the will of the people. The Church was the people as no other body, institution, or estate was at the time. The people were practically unrepresented in Parliament, whose functions were being more and more discharged by the Privy Council; they had no voice in the management of affairs, they now demanded such a voice, and the only channel through which it could be heard was the Church. The great opposition party then in the country was the Church. It was the platform and the press as well. The people had wakened to a sense of their rights; they were determined to be heard, and the Church was the only body that could express their opinions. But when free institutions came, when the representation of the people in Parliament was realised, then the claims of the Church as a theocracy, or even to be a separate kingdom, practically fell to the ground. There was no

more need for the Church to contend for these things ; the people had secured their rightful place in the constitution of the country. This democratic tendency was at an early stage remarked by an acute observer. 'Methinks,' wrote Killegrew to Lord Burghley in 1572, 'I see the noblemen's great credit decay in that country, and the barons, boroughs and such like take more upon them.'

There are two points which ought to be referred to in this connection. The first is the authority on which the Protestant Church rests ; and the second is its attitude towards ritual. The Reformation in Scotland threw over the Church of Rome as an authority in matters of faith, and it put the Bible in its place. But while professing to adhere to the letter of Scripture it admitted liberty of interpretation. Here then we have, on the one hand, an infallible authority which every Presbyterian must accept, and, on the other, freedom given to the faithful to interpret this authority according to their own mind. In this consists the contradiction of Protestantism, and at the same time the occasion for the variety of sects that are found in it. It is, accordingly, absurd for Presbyterians to cry shame upon the different bodies that choose to be ecclesiastically separate, without at the same time condemning the fundamentals of their faith. The only way by which permanent union among Presbyterians and Protestants can be secured is by denying them freedom of interpretation. Put the Protestant mind in chains, and you might have one Church throughout Christendom ; but it would be a dead Church.

The opposition of the Church to the Five Articles of Perth and at a later date to Laud's Prayer Book did not arise from the belief that it ought to have no ritual at all. Knox prepared a Book of Common Order for the service of the Church as well as a Confession of Faith and a Book of Discipline—and his liturgy was generally used and remained in force for nearly a hundred years. What was objected to was the Popish nature of the practices which James

wished to introduce, and the similar character of the Prayer Book which his son Charles desired to foist upon the people. In addition there was, of course, the fact that all this was being attempted unconstitutionally. It was by packed Assemblies and Parliaments that these innovations were being introduced into the Church. Tyranny in the ecclesiastical sphere was quite as disastrous in its results as in the political and civil. It drove the Church into the opposite extreme, and created that dislike to forms of worship which were at one time tolerated and practised, and produced that barrenness of ritual and bareness of service which for many years characterised the Scottish Church. Had the new religion been allowed to develop on the lines originally laid down by Knox, both the Scottish Church and people would now be in temperament and spirit very different. The action of the king and Government during this time is responsible for the course of affairs both in Church and State during the next century and, in some important relations, even down to the present day. It is only in the light of what took place at this time that subsequent events in the life of the Scottish people can be understood and explained.

It was natural, as indeed it was necessary, that the earliest efforts of the Reformed Church should be directed towards the improvement of the moral habits and social life of the people. As we have already seen, the Reformation in Scotland was mainly a moral revolution. The lawlessness that prevailed has been illustrated by the feuds which took place between leading families. Strife and contention were common in all parts of the country, and the king seemed to be powerless to put them down. The daily conduct of the individual was in many cases extremely lax, and the Reformed Church braced itself to the great task of bringing moral order into the habits of the people. One of the subjects that called for earliest action was the relation of the sexes, and vigorous measures were adopted for the fostering of purity of life. Kirk Sessions were invested

with ample powers for enforcing discipline, and the civil authority backed them up. It is unnecessary to refer to the various ways in which those who broke the seventh commandment were punished. If penalty short of death could have made the nation moral, Scotland would have been the most exemplary country in the world. But the remarkable fact is, that such severe measures as were practised would seem to have had little or no effect. When exposure and censure for certain sins become too common, the good intention fails in its effect. The nobility would not submit to the censorship of the Church, and the poor despised it. There was a danger of the new religion being rejected by the very classes whom it ought to have transformed, and of being limited to a narrow and strict sect of over righteous professors who did not require it. A Church to be truly national must not cut itself off from the main body of the people by too narrow views or too strict a practice. The Church of Scotland took a long time to learn the lesson that it is by love and not by hate that a sinner can be redeemed. Still it should not be forgotten that the Reformers and their successors were laudably conscious of the evils that existed, and adopted the weapons which they firmly believed would destroy them.

There is one habit of the religious life that prevailed in Scotland at, and after, the Reformation, which during subsequent centuries underwent a rapid change. This was Sunday observance. It was not until well on towards the close of the sixteenth century, that Sabbatarian strictness began to be enforced. The Reformers would seem to have been quite content if the people attended Church on Sunday morning, without insisting upon the observance of the subsequent part of the day according to Jewish ideas. Games were permitted, markets were allowed to be held, social parties and the ordinary intercourse, pastimes, and forms of recreation and pleasure, which characterise what is called the Continental Sunday, were by no means held as unlawful or sinful. But towards the end of the century the

scene was changed. The spirit of Puritanism began to prevail, and that form of Sabbatarianism which in after years became so marked took root in the Church. It ought to be remembered that in the Confession of Faith drawn up by Knox and his fellow-Reformers nothing is said about that form of Sunday observance which is sometimes wrongly associated with the Church of the Reformation. It was of a later growth.

It was difficult for the new religion to free itself from some of the beliefs which it inherited from the past. One of these was witchcraft. The treatment which those suspected of necromancy—of being possessed by or dealing with the powers of evil—received, is one of the most distressing chapters in the history of the Christian religion. The belief prevailed in every country of Christendom, and the number of those who were put to death because of being suspected of witchcraft is appalling. One does not care to read or even to write of the way these wretched women—for they were chiefly women—were dealt with. The absurdity of the charges, the slightness of the evidence, the long and painful trial, the cruel tortures, and finally the inhuman death to which they were condemned make an impression on the modern mind which is depressing in the extreme. Scotland of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries did not escape this dreadful nightmare. Executions for witchcraft were only too common, although not nearly so common as in some other countries. It would be a mistake to blame the new religion for fostering this belief. It certainly did not create it. It may, of course, have unhinged certain minds, as all movements of a similar kind do. But the evil did not lie at the door of the victims. It was those who occupied high positions in Church and State that were responsible. They believed in witchcraft, and what we now regard as mere oddities or idiosyncracies of character or, at the worst, slight aberrations of mind, they looked upon as signs of demoniacal possession, which

justified them in putting the miserable victims to death. Here, as in other things, time and enlightenment were the only cures.

While these changes which affected the foundations of society were taking place, others less vital in their nature must also be noted. The government of the country although it underwent no constitutional change became under James an instrument for carrying out the will of the Crown. The Privy Council was invested with powers which transformed the monarchy, from being limited, into a kind of despotism. James, especially after he went to England, ruled Scotland through his Council and his Great Officers of State, so that Parliament as a free institution may be said to have ceased to exist. The Stewarts, it must be admitted, always took a deep interest in the administration of justice. Certain improvements took place under Mary; and James, dissatisfied with the College of Justice which was set up in 1532, appointed in 1609 Justices of the Peace for every Shire. The Court of Session as we now know it is a development of the College of Justice, but time was needed for its perfection.

At no other period in the history of the country was greater encouragement given to the development of trade. By means of patents certain industries were established, and such articles as glass, soap and leather manufactured for the first time in Scotland. Foreign trade also increased. A good account is given by Fynes Moryson, who visited Scotland in 1598, of the various articles that were exported and imported. 'The inhabitants of the Western parts of Scotland,' he says, 'carry into Ireland and neighbouring places red and pickled herrings, sea-coal, and aquavitaæ, with like commodities, and bring out of Ireland yarn and cows' hides, or silver. The eastern Scots carry into France coarse cloths, both linen and woollen, which be narrow and shrink in the wetting. They also carry thither wool, skin of goats, wethers and of conies, and divers kinds of fishes taken in the Scottish sea and near other northern Islands,

and after smoked or otherwise dried and salted, and they bring from thence salt and wines. But the chief traffic of the Scots is in four places; namely at Camphere in Zeeland, whither they carry salt, the skins of wethers, otters, badgers and martens, and bring from thence corn. And at Bordeaux in France, whither they carry cloths and the same skins and bring from thence wine, prunes, walnuts and chestnuts. Thirdly, within the Baltic Sea, whither they carry the said cloth and skins and bring thence flax, hemp, iron, pitch and tar. And lastly in England, whither they carry linen cloths, yarn and salt, and bring thence wheat, oats, beans, and like things.'

Moryson was an Englishman, and it may be interesting to quote a French traveller, Jean de Beaugué, who visited Scotland during the reign of Mary. His narrative is valuable, among other reasons, for the description which he gives of the chief towns of Scotland. St Andrews, he says, 'is one of the best towns in Scotland'; Perth he thought 'a very pretty place, pleasant, and well fitted to be the site of a good town'; Aberdeen he praised 'as a rich and handsome town inhabited by an excellent people'; 'Montrose is a beautiful town, with a very good harbour'; and 'Dunbar is among the most beautiful towns in the Isles of the ocean.' Another Frenchman named Estienne Perlin, a physician, who visited Scotland just before the Reformation, makes the following observations, 'The country is but poor in gold and silver, but plentiful in provisions, which are as cheap as in any part of the world. The Scots have plenty of corn and calves, on which account their flesh is cheap; and in my time bread was tolerably cheap.' He also remarks that 'nothing is scarce here but money.' The chief crops were barley, peas and beans. He was much struck at the great number of churches and monasteries, the heads of which were wealthier than the nobles; and he sees a steady improvement taking place all round.

Agriculture was still the chief occupation of the people.

The Lothians, Fife, the Carse of Gowrie and Morayshire produced rich crops ; but much of the land was undrained, marshes were numerous, and there were but few trees to relieve the landscape. The great grievance of the farmers was the insecurity of tenure. Leases were short, and the tenant sat at the will of the landlord. This was a serious handicap on agriculture, for the farmer was not likely to spend much money on land from which he might be driven at any moment, or, should he have spent special labour on it, he naturally felt a grudge at not being allowed to remain and reap the rewards of his industry. But whatever might be the hardships of the people in town or country, they seem to have been quite capable of enjoying themselves, for their holidays were numerous and their pastimes exciting and varied. The Reformation, it is true, threatened to damp the spirit of enjoyment which was native to the Scot. Previous to that time the fun and frolic, which such an occasion as the Feast of Fools, held in December, produced, showed that the ancient Church, with all its defects, did not repress the lighter side of the people's life. The Reformed Church, however, finding that rioting and drunkenness, leading to disgraceful scenes, were associated with such pastimes as that of Robin Hood and Little John, which took place on the 1st of May, endeavoured in the interests of social decency to put them down. It experienced great difficulty in accomplishing this, and it was not till long afterwards that Robin Hood's Day was given up. The irrepressible energy of the people found vent in other ways. Many of them went abroad as soldiers of fortune, and took part in the 'Thirty Years' and other wars. The Scot was also well known as a wandering scholar. Until the foundation of St Andrews University any Scottish youth eager to acquire the higher learning went to the Continent, especially to the University of Paris. And even after the establishment of native schools of learning, seeing that their equipment was meagre, men like George Buchanan and Andrew Melville, who could not be satisfied

with the limited amount of learning which their own country could supply, had to seek it abroad.

It was the aim of the Reformers to have a thoroughly national system of education, and their noble conception is fully sketched in the First Book of Discipline. There we have a graded system, starting with the parish school and ending with the university, with the grammar school coming in between the two. Education was to be universal, and ample opportunity was to be given to the 'lad o' pairts' to have his ambition for learning realised. Knox's ideal came to naught, because the nobility seized the temporalities of the Church, a third of which the Reformer had set apart in his own mind for education. Still the Church did what it could to impart knowledge to the youth of the nation. In those parishes where there was no regular schoolmaster the Reader often took his place. It was not till the year 1616 that the parochial system of education was founded. It had its origin in an Order of Council, and Parliament ratified the arrangement in 1633. The Church then through the Presbyteries took full charge of the education of the country. In the parish schools of the sixteenth century the children were taught the Catechism, the Lord's Prayer, and the Bible. The Book of Proverbs down to a comparatively recent period formed the reading-book in most schools. We learn from the *Diary* of James Melville that athletics were by no means neglected. Boys were taught fencing, swimming, golf, archery, leaping, and other youthful exercises. Grammar schools existed in many of the chief towns, and several schemes for the reconstruction of the universities were inaugurated, but it was not till a later day that they were able to take that place in the educational system of the country which was theirs by right. The higher culture was by no means uncommon. Men like the Earl of Arran and the young Earl of Gowrie possessed wide and accurate knowledge for the times, and the latter was a votary of art as well.

Nor were the poor neglected, although the scheme which Knox wished to carry out on their behalf was defeated. The third of the Church property which he proposed should be set aside for the support of the poor also found its way into the hands of the nobility. Not content with the wealth which they had already secured, the nobles proved harsh landlords towards the old Church tenants, and many of them, who were titulars of the teinds as well, were strict and harsh in demanding payment. The Church did what it could; collections were ordered to be taken at the services on Sunday on behalf of the poor. The system of poor relief then introduced remained in force in Scotland until well on into the nineteenth century. The industrial changes that then took place, the crowding of the population into the towns and cities, strained the old method beyond its strength; although the notable and successful attempt of Dr. Chalmers when minister of St John's, Glasgow, a large city parish, to cope with the question on the old lines, proved that the system which the Church practised for so many centuries was capable, if properly worked, of meeting even modern demands.

The ecclesiastical buildings of the country during the sixteenth century began to fall into a state of decay. The great religious houses had suffered severely through the English invasions that took place during the reign of Henry VIII., that of Hertford in particular being very destructive. Even previous to this there was a growing and marked neglect of church edifices. The decay of the buildings would seem to have gone hand in hand with that of the Church itself. At the Reformation the monasteries and other religious houses were stripped of their ornaments, but it would be a mistake to imagine, as is often done, that the destruction of Church property was due to the Reformation. On the contrary, we have Knox and others demanding that the parish churches should be put into a proper state of repair. The clergy were un-

paid, education and the poor were neglected, and ecclesiastical buildings were allowed to fall into ruin, because the Church's own property had been appropriated by the nobility, who, out of the vast amount of wealth which they had thus acquired, were loath to give anything.

The sixteenth century in Scotland can boast of no great writer such as England can. No Shakespeare or even Ben Jonson adorned its literary annals. It did not produce a poet equal even to Dunbar ; indeed, with the exception of Sir David Lyndsay, it can claim no considerable poet at all. The reason for this probably is, that the chief interest of the country was in the religious revolution which the Reformation brought about, and in the conflict of Church and State which immediately followed. The Renaissance, as it has been already observed, found no welcome in Scotland. Theology rather than poetry occupied the leading place. Lyndsay, who died about 1555, can hardly be said to belong to the new times at all. All his works were produced before the revolution of 1560. His poems, however, did much to bring about that great event. His licence of speech in attacking the ancient Church was remarkable, and may be explained by his friendship with the king. He had considerable dramatic art, plenty of rough humour, and always, when writing, kept the common people in view. It was for this reason that his poems were so popular. He was a fairly prolific writer, and among his chief pieces are the *The Dreame*, and *Ane pleasant Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.

The great proportion of the literary output of the times, however, was in prose and not in verse. John Major, who died in 1550, was the last of the Scottish Schoolmen. He taught at the Universities of Glasgow, St Andrews, and Paris, and had among his pupils George Buchanan and, some also think, John Knox. His *Historia Majoris Britannicæ* is written, as its title implies, in Latin, and the most significant thing in it is his view of government. He proclaimed that supremacy of the people over the

Crown which was more fully elaborated a generation afterwards by his pupil George Buchanan. One of the earliest writers of vernacular prose was John Bellenden, Archdeacon of Moray, who was born about 1495; but the most important work up to this date is *The Complaynt of Scotland*, printed and published in Paris in 1549. It is valuable not only from the literary point of view, but also from the social. It holds the mirror up to the times, and gives a picture of the condition of the people and of the lives and habits of the different classes in the nation that is of great interest. This work was succeeded by Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism (1552). It is perhaps the best book that the Roman Church ever produced in Scotland. Had it appeared even a quarter of a century earlier, and its teaching been taken to heart by the clergy, the Reformation would certainly have assumed a very different form to what it did. It came too late in the day; the axe had already been laid at the root of the ecclesiastical tree, and the ancient Church was doomed.

The most important work of the age was *The History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realme of Scotland*, by John Knox. In it we have a departure from the old Scotch vernacular, for it is written in English as then known. The work is at once a revelation of Knox's own character, and a striking account of the great events in which he played a leading part. In it we see the moral earnestness of the man which carried him through the difficulties that opposed him; but this is relieved by many humorous sallies which give the book a thoroughly human aspect. The one Scotsman of the times who, as a writer, had a European reputation, was George Buchanan. He was held to be the greatest Latin poet of his age. Born in the Lennox, he studied at the Universities of St Andrews and Paris. His early manhood was spent in teaching at different schools and universities on the Continent, and it was not till middle life that he returned to his native country. He was appointed Principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, and after-

wards tutor to the young king, James VI. His chief works were written in Latin, his most important being his version of the Psalms and his *History of Scotland*. He wrote two works in his mother tongue, one of them being *Chamaeleon*, a satire on Maitland of Lethington.

Other writers whose works and reputation still survive were Ninian Winzet, Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, and James Melville. The first was a noted controversialist, who fought the battle of the Roman Church against Knox himself. His three *Tractats* which question the validity of Presbyterian orders, and his *Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions* which attacks the doctrines of the Protestant Church, particularly its belief in the Bible as the sole authority, are among the most candid controversial writings of the age. Pitscottie's *Historie and Cronicles of Scotland* and James Melville's *Diary* are, each in its own way, delightful reading. Nor should King James himself be forgotten. According to a well-known authority, 'he is the only English prince who has carried to the throne the knowledge derived from reading or any considerable amount of literature.' His best-known work is *Basilikon Doron*, written for the benefit of his son Prince Henry. In it we have his conception of the Divine right of kings fully elaborated.

The verse of the period took the form of ballads. Among them are the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of the Wedderburns. By them the Reformation was rhymed and sung, if not into existence, certainly into full maturity. They put the new doctrines into catching verse, which again was sung to popular melodies. It is held also that it was in or about this period that the famous ballad literature of Scotland came into existence, and any century that could produce such poems as the *Queen's Marie*, *Chevy Chase*, *Sir Patrick Spens*, *Kinmont Willie*, and the *Young Tamlane* may well be proud of its literary reputation.

CHAPTER XXX

CHARLES I., 1625-1649

JAMES was succeeded by his son Charles I. who was born in 1600. The new king was thus only three years of age when his father ascended the English throne. He was James's second son, the eldest being Prince Henry, who died in his youth. Much was expected of Henry, who was extremely popular with all classes. Charles was of a different temperament, reserved and earnest to the verge of fanaticism. He was unlike his father in appearance, being handsome, and unlike him also in character, but he inherited his belief in the Divine right of kings and Episcopacy. For the first eight years of his reign Scotland was left in peace, but after that it was to know his mind on the two subjects which caused a revolution in the country and brought Charles himself to the scaffold. The time had gone by when the Divine right either of kingship or priesthood could be preached or practised with impunity in Scotland.

Charles's first dealings with Scotland were financial. He demanded means to enable him to carry on a war with France in which he had got entangled. The English Parliament refused to assist him. Scotland was more complacent and voted him a grant of money, but on no account would it aid him with men. The Thirty Years' War, England's share in which his father had left him, made Scotland liable to be invaded by Spain, and the Estates were patriotic enough to encourage Scotsmen to make arrangements for the defence of their country, but beyond this they would not go. Charles's great object, so far as Scotland was concerned, was to bring its

Church into full conformity with that of England, and so complete the policy of his father. A good deal might be said for such a scheme, and had the king's actions been guided by wisdom and prudence it might have been realised ; but the way in which he endeavoured to coerce the Scottish Church and people into an acceptance of his proposals left him no chance of success. Had he been willing to withdraw the 'Five Articles of Perth,' and to let the Church alone, there can be no doubt that the government of the Church of Scotland would now be a modified Episcopacy. The unconstitutional way in which James had imposed bishops might have been forgotten, and seeing that their position was practically nothing more than that of perpetual moderators, leaving the government of the Church essentially Presbyterian, the change from the Church of John Knox to that of Archbishop Spottiswoode would not have been radical. In any case it might be said for such a scheme, that it would have attached to the Church every class in the country, the nobility as well as the common people.

The first indication of the new king's purpose was seen in the superior position he assigned to the bishops. Five out of the thirteen he admitted to the Privy Council. He made Archbishop Spottiswoode President of the Exchequer and as Primate he was the first subject in the kingdom. This was a position which was held by the Chancellor, Lord Kinnoul, who at the coronation ceremony absolutely refused to give place saying that 'Never a stoled priest in Scotland should set a foot before him so long as his blood was hot.' On Kinnoul's death in 1635 Spottiswoode was appointed his successor, being thus the first churchman who was Chancellor since the Reformation. The king's next step left the country in no doubt as to his ultimate object. This was the Great Act of Revocation which annexed all the Church and Crown lands that had been alienated since the accession of Mary Queen of Scots in 1542. The king saw that it was impossible to have complete

Episcopacy in Scotland unless the bishops and other Church dignitaries, as well as the parochial clergy, were duly supported. As matters stood, there were no funds from which the emoluments of the bishops could be supplied, or even the stipends of the parish ministers. The great nobles had secured as much of the Church lands as they could lay their hands on, and James, to secure their support, had given them practically all that remained. In addition they largely possessed themselves of the teinds which ought to have formed the stipends of the clergy, and as 'Titulars' they were strict and severe in their exactions, pocketing for the most part what they thus uplifted, leaving the ministers in many cases almost to starve. One can thus see the justice of Charles's proposal, and if he had exercised patience and been prepared to make timely concessions, he might have succeeded; but he did not understand the Scots, and his subsequent conduct in connection with clerical dress and a liturgy undid at a stroke any good that his Act of Revocation might have accomplished.

The first consequence of his action was to alienate the nobility, who offered a stubborn opposition to his schemes. An indication of their hostility may be seen in the desperate measure which one of their order was prepared to take. At a meeting of the Estates, Lord Belhaven, an old blind man, placed himself close to the Earl of Dumfries, a supporter of the intended Act of Revocation, and keeping hold of his neighbour with one hand, for which he apologised as being necessary to enable him to support himself, he held in the other the hilt of a dagger, concealed in his bosom, that as soon as the general signal should be given he might play his part in the tragedy by plunging it into Lord Dumfries's heart. The possessors of the Church lands were now, in the hour of danger, quite prepared to join forces with the Presbyterian clergy, who it might be thought ought to have been favourable to Charles's scheme, seeing it was the Church that was to benefit. But it was to be an

Episcopal Church forced upon them against their will. The nobility thus took up and dropped the Church precisely as it suited their purpose. Once they felt themselves secure in the property of the Church, they had no more need for the institution which they had robbed. The smaller lairds and landowners, who had to pay the teinds to the 'Titulars,' were the only body that the king might reasonably rely on in the coming fight. But they, too, in the end deserted him, and joined in the general opposition.

There can be no doubt but that Charles's action in this matter cost him his crown, for the storm which it created drove Scotland into the arms of England in the civil war which was not far distant. As a statesman of the times said, 'The Act of Revocation was the ground-stone of all the mischief that followed after, both to the king's government and family.' Charles, however, persevered with his policy, and took every precaution for carrying it out. He excluded the Lords of Session, upon whom he could not depend, from the Privy Council, and made his influence felt everywhere. The matter was gone thoroughly into, and at length the king himself gave his decision. It was determined that every heritor was to have the right of purchasing his own teinds, the heritable value being estimated at nine years' purchase. The teinds themselves were valued at a fifth of the rent, and this was to be paid to the clergy. The stipends of the parish ministers were at last duly fixed, and it is on the basis then established that they are still paid. The Church of Scotland has thus reason to thank Charles for having put an end to the uncertainty which so long prevailed with regard to the emoluments of the clergy, and although the valuation, in view of modern rental, was ridiculously low, taking the settlement all in all it is one with which the country may be very well satisfied. The valuation placed on the Church lands which had been appropriated by, or gifted to, the nobility by the Crown, was ten years' purchase.

Charles now set himself to see the arrangements carried out. Accordingly in 1633 he visited Scotland, entering his ancient capital on the 15th of June. The worst fears of the Presbyterian ministers were at once more than realized. In the Chapel Royal of Holyrood, where the king was crowned, the service took the form of what we would call nowadays a high Anglican order. The monarch was anointed; bishops officiated, garbed in the most approved clerical costumes; there was a so-called altar, on which candles stood unlighted, and behind it a crucifix before which the clergy genuflected as they passed. More ominous than all these ceremonies was the fact that the king was accompanied by Laud, Bishop of London, soon to be Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles's chief counsellor and friend in matters ecclesiastical, at whose door was laid the blame of many of the troubles that followed. In St Giles' Church the following Sunday two English bishops 'acted,' as Row, a staunch Presbyterian, quaintly puts it, 'their English service.' All this was carefully planned, and Charles proceeded to give the necessary authority to his proposals. Parliament under his father had, as we have seen, become a packed body subservient to the Crown. Previous to 1609 the Lords of the Articles, who were representatives of the different Estates, had been fairly enough chosen. Each Estate selected its own representatives, but in the Parliament which met that year a new system was introduced. The nobles chose eight bishops, the eight bishops selected eight nobles, and these sixteen chose eight from the commissioners of the barons and burghs respectively. As the bishops were the creatures of the king, Parliament thus practically became his tool. Charles had some difficulty all the same in passing his measures. The vote was very narrow and was, as some alleged, tampered with. This Parliament which he held during his visit, and which rose on the 28th of June, passed no fewer than one hundred and sixty-eight Acts, among them being the Great Act of Revocation. Another, which con-

ferred on the king the right of determining the apparel of kirkmen, was the cause of troubles to come. Charles quitted Scotland shortly afterwards leaving an unfavourable impression behind him. It is a sure sign of unpopularity when, as happened in his case, the common people criticise their king's peculiarities. His innovations in the service of the Church were peculiarly distasteful to the vast majority of his subjects, and while preparing them for what they feared might follow, also stirred up a feeling of resentment and opposition, which in due time was to find effective expression.

It was the nobles who took the first step in the revolution which was now impending. A supplication was prepared on their behalf by Haig of Bemersyde. The Earl of Rothes endeavoured to have it presented to Charles, but the king would not receive it. A copy was known to have been in the possession of Lord Balmerino, and this was made a ground for charging him with treason. The nobility, from their point of view, had good reasons for presenting a supplication. Their prestige and power in Parliament had been sorely curtailed by the supremacy of the bishops, and the Act of Revocation deeply affected their pockets. Even the common people sided with Lord Balmerino, whose trial was protracted over a year. He was condemned by a narrow vote, eight to seven, but on the recommendation of Laud, who, along with Archbishop Spottiswoode, had been the chief mover in the matter, he was pardoned. The nobles now saw what they might expect from the king. It was not long until the nation as a whole took the next step. In May of 1635 a Book of Canons, prepared in London, was by the fiat of the king imposed upon the Church. It had not been considered by, nor received the sanction of, either the General Assembly or Parliament. In it the king declared himself to be the head of the Church. In May two years afterwards (1637) Laud's Liturgy, as it is called, was imposed upon the Church in the same way, and, as the king was shortly to

find out, this was more than the people of Scotland were prepared to endure. It should not be forgotten, in view of what followed, that the Church had no objections to a book of Canons or to a Liturgy. It was already in possession of both, in the Second Book of Discipline of Andrew Melville, and in the Book of Common Order of John Knox. Neither of these was a dead letter ; they were both in full force and use. The Scottish Church since the Reformation had recognised several Books of Common Order. That of Geneva was not unknown, the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was also recommended and used, and the Church's own Book, prepared by Knox, had official sanction, and was of invaluable service to the readers who officiated in those churches which had no minister. The people, then, could not object to a Book of Canons or to a Liturgy, but what they did object to was, that they found in them, especially in the latter, signs of Popery, that they were of English manufacture, and that they were imposed upon them by the fiat of the king. There can be no doubt but that Laud's Book leant more to Romanism than the Prayer Book of the Church of England ; and the Scottish Commissioners afterwards declared that it was the intention of the king and Archbishop Laud to get the Church of Scotland to accept it as a preliminary to imposing it on the Church of England.

Many accounts have been given of the scene in St Giles' Church in Edinburgh, when Laud's fateful book was used for the first time in Scotland. That of Sir Walter Scott is still the best. 'The rash and fatal experiment was made on the 23rd July 1637 in the High Church of St Giles', Edinburgh, where the Dean of the city prepared to read the new service before a numerous concourse of persons, none of whom seemed to have been favourably disposed to its reception. As the reader of the prayers announced the Collect for the day, an old woman named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green-stall in the High Street, bawled out : "The deil

colick in the wame of thee, thou false thief ! Dost thou say the mass at my lug ? ” With that she flung at the Dean’s head the stool upon which she had been sitting, and a wild tumult instantly commenced. The women of lower condition (instigated it is said by their superiors) flew at the Dean, tore the surplice from his shoulders, and drove him out of the Church. The Bishop of Edinburgh mounted the pulpit, but he was assailed with missiles and with vehement exclamations of “ A Pope ! a Pope ! Anti-christ ! pull him down, stone him ! ” while the windows were broken with stones flung by a disorderly multitude from without. This was not all ; the prelates were assaulted in the street and misused by the mob. The life of the bishop was with difficulty saved by Lord Roxburghe, who carried him home in his carriage, surrounded by his retinue with drawn swords. Well might Archie Armstrong, the king’s fool, whisper slyly in Laud’s ear, when the news of the riot reached London, “ Who ’s fool now, my lord ? ” ’

Edinburgh was always noted for its unruliness ; its mobs were the most turbulent in Europe. But what took place in St Giles’ on that fateful Sunday was only a forecast, as well as a foretaste, of what would happen all over Scotland, with the probable exception of Aberdeen, should the use of Laud’s Liturgy be insisted upon. The nation was now thoroughly roused, and all were united as one man, a thing that had never happened before in the history of Scotland. The people had no constitutional way of defending their rights, or of bringing a party to represent them into power. The time had gone by when this could be accomplished by one set of nobles, who happened to be out of favour, chopping off the heads of, or driving out of the country, those who chanced for the time being to have authority. In truth the day of the nobles was fairly well over, and for the first time in their history they courted the support of the people against the Crown. The third great stage in the evolution of the Scottish people was now reached. The first was the War of Independence ; the

second the Reformation ; and the third the Covenant. Looked at from one point of view Charles's fanaticism might seem a misfortune, but the sufferings of a people, after all, are not the most regrettable experiences in their history, if through them national right, constitutional liberty, and the independence of the people themselves be the results.

Events now moved rapidly. The Privy Council was petitioned, and it in turn made a representation to the king, but he was immovable. Action must accordingly be taken. The first step was to form committees, of four members each, to represent the nobility, the lairds, the burghers and the clergy respectively. These committees were called Tables. The nation thus represented now demanded not only the abolition of the liturgy, but the dismissal of the bishops from the Privy Council. A custom well known in Scottish history was now followed : a ' bond ' was formed. But there had never been a bond like this one, for it embraced the whole nation. It was called the National League and Covenant. On the 1st March 1638 one of the most memorable scenes in the history of Scotland was witnessed in the Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh ; when a great throng of clergy and people assembled to sign the Covenant. Many of the nobility had signed it the day before. This document, one of the most famous in Scottish history, was based on the Negative Confession of 1581 which abjured Popery, and had been signed by King James and many of his courtiers. The drafting of the new document was the work of Johnston of Warriston, an able lawyer and a strict Covenanter, and Alexander Henderson, minister at Leuchars, who was the leader of the Church at this crisis, and was admitted by all to be the ablest man in it. The most significant part of the Covenant was the oath committing the subscribers to defend the Crown and the true religion, it being left doubtful as to whether the Crown was to be defended in so far as it adhered to the true religion or not. Spottiswoode, being now convinced

that all was lost, fled to England, certain others of the bishops following him. The king felt that in the face of all this determined opposition concessions must be made. He accordingly granted a free Parliament and a free General Assembly, the condition, however, being attached that the Covenant must be discarded. He at the same time issued one of his own, called the King's Covenant; his aim being, by gaining subscribers to it, to cause division among his opponents. His success in this respect was very limited.

The General Assembly so eagerly desired met in Glasgow Cathedral on the 21st November 1638. It was one of the most momentous Assemblies in the history of the Church. The ancient minster in which the members gathered had witnessed many an interesting scene during the five hundred years of its existence, but never one in which there was so much suppressed passion and such intense moral earnestness. The Marquis of Hamilton represented the king as Commissioner, and Henderson was chosen Moderator. Shrewd observers clearly saw from the first that there could be only one issue. For the first time since the days of Knox lay elders appeared in large numbers, and, as they had come armed as if for battle, their determination to carry out their desires was evident. Civil war was in the air, and the conduct of the members was neither solemn nor decorous. After preliminary matters had been settled, the main business of the Assembly was entered on. The bishops had been summoned to attend, but they refused, and in spite of their absence and Hamilton's protest, the Assembly proceeded to deal with them. This gave the Commissioner an excuse for dissolving the Assembly, which he did on the ground of treason. But charges and threats had no effect upon the members. They proceeded as if nothing had happened, and in a summary manner deposed all the bishops, excommunicated some, nullified the Five Articles of Perth, the Book of Canons and the new Liturgy; abolished the High Court of Commission; in short, overturned Episcopacy and set up Presbytery once

more. Thus had the work of forty years been brought to naught.

The question has been discussed, as to whether it was hatred of Episcopacy or love of Presbytery that induced the Scottish people at this crisis to pass the sweeping resolutions of the Glasgow Assembly. It must be admitted that it was neither the one nor the other. The motive which chiefly actuated them was bitter resentment at the way in which both James and Charles had forced upon them in the most unconstitutional manner a form of Church government and an order of service. In the main the revolution was thus political. The Scottish people would not be tyrannised over. There was, of course, in addition a leaven of Puritanism in the movement, which was further fostered by the foolish action of the king in imposing upon the Church a liturgy which savoured, as many thought, of Popery. The temper of the people had also been embittered by the endeavour to suppress the General Assembly, and thus to close the only channel for expression of opinion open to them. But not the least important factor in the movement that was now fast reaching a head, was the uprising of the nobility, who resented the king's interference with their Church lands and teinds. Certain of them may have been whole-hearted Covenanters, but the majority favoured the movement because of the hope which it held out of a successful resistance to any fresh Act of Revocation which would restore to the Crown or to its original possessors the land that they still held in their hands in consequence of the destruction of the ancient Church. Many of the clergy and people were becoming quite content with the moderate Episcopacy which prevailed—for it was Prelacy and not Episcopacy they really objected to—until Laud, with certain of the Scottish bishops, induced Charles, who perhaps was only too willing, to make the Church of Scotland conform in all things to that of England. In this lay the great blunder.

Both sides now clearly realised that the dispute must be

fought out by the sword, and by the spring of 1639 what is known as the First Bishops' War was begun. Charles intended to attack Scotland by land and sea, but he was disappointed in the force that he was able to marshal. He was short of money, and his English Parliament was in no mood to grant him supplies for such a purpose. The Covenanters also began to organise, and with more success. Many gathered to their standard, and they were fortunate in securing as their Commander-in-chief, Alexander Leslie, an experienced and able soldier. Both parties in the dispute, wishing to gain the sympathy of England, circulated explanatory documents. The king's is known as the Large Declaration. Edinburgh and Dumbarton castles, the two chief strongholds in the country, fell into the hands of the Covenanters, and Montrose, who was sent north, gave a good account of Huntly, kidnapping him and his eldest son to Edinburgh, an act which impartial historians hold to be the chief, if not the only, stain on Montrose's name. Early in June, Leslie, at the head of 20,000 men, encamped on Dunse Law, Charles, with 18,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, having a few days previously reached Birks, three miles from Berwick, south of the Tweed. One cannot help reflecting upon what now seems to us the utter folly of what was taking place. It is difficult to conceive a prince who was prepared to lose three kingdoms and his head for a 'surplice,' and it is perhaps as difficult to appreciate the passions of the Covenanters, who, to escape from the use of this 'surplice,' were ready to fight against their king, and to throw the country into a revolution. Bloodshed, suffering and misery untold they well knew would be the result. But on looking deeper, one finds that the great question of civil freedom and constitutional liberty was involved. Was the Tudor or Stewart idea of Divine Right and Absolutism to prevail, or was the country to be governed by free institutions? These were the questions that were really at issue, and which Scotland and England together were to answer.

Both sides felt that it would be wise to pause. They were ready to come to some sort of terms. Accordingly what is known as the Pacification of Berwick was agreed to on the 18th of June. By it a General Assembly was to meet on the 6th August, and a Parliament on the 20th of the same month. These terms were satisfactory if they were real. The Assembly met on the 12th of August, and it confirmed all the Acts of the Glasgow Assembly. But it went a step further, it asked the Privy Council to make subscription to the National Covenant compulsory on the whole nation. And the Privy Council agreed. This was a bold step to take. We now see the tyranny of the people set against that of the king. Neither can be justified, and no good came in the end of one or the other. The tyranny of a majority is to be condemned equally with that of an individual. Democracy no less than monarchy requires to be limited. The Covenanters in their hour of triumph forgot this, and a year or two later many of the clergy, who would not sign the Solemn League and Covenant and declare Episcopacy to be unlawful, were driven from their charges, and even banished from the country.

The Parliament which met on the 31st of August ratified the Acts of the Assembly ; but a dispute arising over the election of the Lords of the Articles gave Traquair, who presided as the king's commissioner, an excuse for dissolving it without asking its consent. This also was unconstitutional, but in a time of revolution constitutional ways and methods are as a rule ignored. It now remained for Charles to sign the Acts of Parliament against Episcopacy. This, however, he would not do, and his declinature so provoked the Covenanters, that they appealed once more to force, and began what is known as the Second Bishops' War. They were better prepared than the king, whose English subjects would not supply him with sufficient means. In their enthusiasm the Covenanters melted their plate into current coin, and before the following July dispatched Leslie once more to the Border at the head of

20,000 men. The king marched to York, which he reached on the 22nd of August with such a force as he could muster. The Scottish army, two days previously, crossed the Tweed. In ten days Newcastle opened its gates to Leslie, and Charles, finding himself at a disadvantage, was prepared to consider the Scottish demands, which were the abolition of Episcopacy and the sanctioning of the Covenant. Before negotiations had well begun the Long Parliament met (3rd November 1640). The Scots, finding that it must be with it rather than the king they had now to deal, made the condition that they must be well paid for remaining on English ground, and the terms granted to them were so favourable that at the end of a year, on their return home, they found that not only had all their expenses been paid, but that they had £200,000 to their credit.

Charles determined to preside at the Scottish Parliament which was to meet, and to ratify the demands which he had conceded to the Scots. The Covenanters were now hopeful of final success, especially in view of what had taken place in England while they were there. They had seen Parliament abolishing the Star Chamber, the Court of High Commission, and the Council of the North. They also saw the impeachment and execution of Strafford and the fall of Laud. The king also had equal hopes of success in his Scottish visit, for he saw signs of quarrelling among the Covenanters themselves, and he was not without good ground for thinking that he might draw to his side certain of the leading nobles. Montrose and others had entered into a 'bond' at Cumbernauld which indicated distrust of the Covenant and sympathy for the cause of the king. Previous to this the great Marquis had been in secret communication with Charles. It is possible that he was induced to change sides by the extreme views which were beginning to prevail among the Covenanters. His ideas of sovereignty did not correspond with theirs. He believed that Argyll, whom he hated, and others were prepared to depose the

king. In the stirring events that followed Montrose played a leading part, and his character and career appeal more to the imagination than those of any other of the Scottish leaders. He proved himself to be a great soldier and a loyal supporter of the king. Had he had a leading command in the earlier battles of the Civil War, it is not at all unlikely that Cromwell would never have got his chance. But he joined the royal cause too late in the day, and by the time he brought Scotland to his feet, the cause of the king in England was lost. Argyll may have been great in council, but he was a laggard on the field. His cautious and prudent nature was ever directing his actions as much in his own interest as in those of his country. The Marquis of Hamilton, the third chief character that the revolution threw up, was so shifty that he betrayed the one side and then the other as suited his purpose. It was the object of the Covenanters to prevent Montrose and his chief supporters from meeting Charles while in Scotland. So they caused them to be safely lodged in Edinburgh castle—the charge against them being the signing of the Cumbernauld Bond—until the king was across the Border.

Charles entered Edinburgh on the 14th of August 1641. His visit, he announced, was for the purpose of giving ‘content and general satisfaction.’ He accordingly ratified the Acts against Episcopacy of the Parliament of August 1639. That the satisfaction of the Scots was more apparent than real is seen in the defection of Hamilton, who entered into a close alliance with Argyll. The Covenanters, while professing to be content with the concessions which the king had made, knew that he had granted them under compulsion, and should his power again return he would withdraw them. Hamilton evidently acted on this belief, and was convinced that the end of the revolution was not yet. All the same, he acted treacherously towards the king, who had always proved his friend. One of those mysterious events common in Scottish history now occurred. It is called The Incident. Informa-

tion was brought secretly to Argyll, Hamilton and his brother, the Earl of Lanark, that if they went to Holyrood on a certain night at the king's invitation, they would be slain or kidnapped. This rumour spreading, suspicion at once fell on the king. Charles, who was undoubtedly innocent, demanded a public inquiry, which was never granted, but the plot, imaginary or real, served its purpose in helping to discredit him still further in the country. A retainer of the king's, one William Murray, a groom of the bedchamber, who rifled his master's pockets and read his letters, revealing their contents to the Covenanters, is suspected of being the organiser of this plot. But The Incident, like the Gowrie Conspiracy, still remains a mystery. Charles left Edinburgh on the 18th November, never to set foot in it again. He made a Marquis of Argyll, and Earls of Leslie and Loudon, and as a token of peace and goodwill all round, Montrose and his friends were set at liberty.

The king on returning to England found himself face to face with greater troubles than he left behind him in Scotland. The Long Parliament was defiant; and unable or unwilling to yield, he was compelled to raise his standard, which he did at Nottingham on 22nd of August 1642. He had now two discontented countries on his hands, not to speak of Ireland, where a rebellion and a deplorable massacre had just taken place. The question that faced the Scots was, on which side would they stand? On that of the king or on that of the Parliament? The Privy Council decided for the king, but the Assembly decided for the Parliament. The Privy Council was forced to yield. A Convention of Estates was held on 22nd June 1643 to sanction the proceedings of the Covenanters, and formal measures were taken to associate themselves with the English Parliament. Not the least important factor in inducing the Covenanters to come to this decision was the fact that an Assembly of Divines was sitting at Westminster considering reform in Church discipline and ceremonies, and the first head in the famous document, the Solemn League and

Covenant, now drawn up as a bond of union between the Scots, significantly referred to the reformation of religion in the British Isles 'according to the word of God.' This document, the work of the General Assembly, was offered on the 2nd of August 1643 as a basis of alliance with the English Parliament, and by it accepted on the 25th September. The aim of the two nations was not the same. While Scotland was fighting for religious, England was struggling for civil, liberty. But it was not a time for hair-splitting, and the vision which the Scots cherished of uniformity in doctrine and polity between the two countries was eminently attractive. They saw the Presbyterian system prevail over the whole island, and the hope of imposing the form of Church government, which they now believed to be of Divine right, upon the sister kingdom was sufficient, apart from every other consideration, to make them throw in their lot with the English Parliament. It was a vain dream, as they were afterwards to discover.

The agreement between the two kingdoms was, that Scotland should raise and equip an army of 18,000 foot, 2000 horse, 1000 dragoons and a train of artillery, the English Parliament agreeing to pay them £30,000 a month for three years. Alexander Leslie, now Earl of Leven, was again appointed Commander-in-chief. He crossed into England on the 19th January 1644, drove the royalists out of the northern counties, and did much to turn the tide in favour of the Parliamentary forces.

The Scottish troops had scarcely crossed the Tweed when Montrose received his commission from the king to raise the royal standard in Scotland (1st February 1644). He was foiled in his first attempt to cross the Border, but on the 18th August, disguised as a groom, and with only two companions, he made his way to Perth. He soon found himself at the head of a considerable force, composed of Scoto-Irish troops under the command of young Colkitto, or Alastair MacDonald, a fiery Highland chieftain. This force, which numbered 1600 men,

was soon augmented by Highlanders who rallied round Montrose's standard, and with this army the royalist leader succeeded, in the short space of a year, in clearing Scotland of Covenanting troops, and bringing it almost to his feet. In a series of engagements he defeated one force after another, and his Irish followers, indulging after each victory in those 'methods of barbarism' which we associate with semi-savage peoples, struck terror into the hearts of the Covenanters. At Tippermuir on the 1st September, and at Aberdeen on the 13th of the same month, he scattered the forces of the Covenant and reduced the north. He then turned his attention to Argyll, whom he detested; laid waste the country of the Campbells, reduced Inveraray, and in a pitched battle at Inverlochy drove their chief and his clansmen from the field. In the spring of the following year (4th April) we find him at Dundee, and shortly afterwards at Auldearn, near Inverness, where he again repeated his former triumphs. On the 2nd July he vanquished Baillie, the most experienced Covenanting general, at Alford on the Don; then marching south he conquered the same general, on 15th August, in his most brilliant victory at Kilsyth. Glasgow submitted, and Montrose forbidding his followers to plunder the city, they left him in thousands. With a mere handful he marched south, tempted by Roxburgh, Home, and Traquair with the promise of fresh accessions. In this he was grievously disappointed. These Lowland chiefs were only half-hearted in the royalist cause, the Border clansmen had ceased to rally at the call of their leaders, and it was with a sorely depleted army that he had to face David Leslie, the nephew of Leven, who at the beginning of September had been sent north with 4000 horse and a detachment of infantry to deal with Montrose. The royal leader was in camp at Philiphaugh on the left bank of the Ettrick, and on the morning of the 13th September he learned that Leslie, who had marched down the Gala, was within a mile of him. Montrose, who was taken by

surprise, put himself at once at the head of his troops, and for a full hour withstood the attacks of the Covenanters. But Leslie had a further surprise in store; a detachment which he had dispatched round the neighbouring hill now attacked the royalists in the rear. Further resistance was hopeless. The Marquis with a few friends escaped across the hills to Peebles, and thereafter sought safety in the Highlands. Every prisoner who was taken was put to the sword, and even the female camp-followers were not suffered to escape.

Partisans defend the side which they champion and condemn the other. Montrose led the way in butchering, without scruple, all who fell into his hands, and therefore it was only natural that the Covenanters when they got the chance should make reprisals. The truth is the combatants were engaged in a civil war, which always stirs up the most vindictive passions, and however much such inhuman cruelties are to be regretted, the factor which must be taken into account is human nature itself, which under such circumstances would almost invariably seem to be dehumanised. The Covenanters conceived themselves to be engaged in a religious war, and gloried, almost like Mohammedans, in the slaughter of the Malignants, as they termed the supporters of the king, and indeed all who would not accept their Covenant. Even one of their most noted divines and Church leaders, David Dickson, could shout when he heard of the destruction of his opponents, 'The work goes bonnily on.' Several noted victims met their fate at this time, one of the chief being Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son of the Archbishop of St Andrews, and President of the Court of Session. If the English Parliament could send Strafford and Laud to the scaffold, what was to prevent the Scottish Covenanters from executing Sir Robert Spottiswoode and others of equal note? Scotland had not witnessed a time like this since the Revolution which followed the deposition of Queen Mary. Nearly half a century of conflict and bloodshed was still to

pass before the great questions at issue were to be fully fought out and settled. It was natural that in the strife the worst features of the national character should come out as well as the best, but in the end, when the combatants had exhausted themselves and a settlement was arrived at, the cause of the people was seen to have triumphed, and the people themselves to have been enriched in heart and character by the miseries which they endured.

The Covenanters now discovered that all their hopes of imposing their Church polity on England were vain. With the Independents triumphant there was little chance of the southern country adopting Presbyterianism. Indeed the English Parliament, which was dominated by the Independents, now wished the Scots well out of the country. They had no further need for them. The king was still at liberty, but he knew that his period of freedom was bound soon to expire, and he had to decide whether he would trust himself to the Scots or to the English. By the 5th of May 1646 he had made his choice, for on that day he rode into the Scottish camp at Southwell, near Newark, Nottinghamshire. The Scots were proud of their prize, and if Charles had agreed to accept the Solemn League and Covenant they would have fought for him to the death. But this he would not do, and the question for the Scots was : What were they to do with him ? To have taken him with them to Scotland would have meant war with England. They could send him abroad, or they could hand him over to the English Parliament. The position put them in a dilemma. They knew that they must soon cross the Border, as their task in England was accomplished, but they were disinclined to depart until they received the payment that was promised. £2,000,000 was due to them. In the end they agreed to take £400,000. There was nothing for them now but to retrace their steps, and as the quarrel with the king was now an English one, they felt their only course was to hand Charles over to the English Parliament.

Before agreeing to do so they stipulated that no harm was to come to his person.

It must have been with a feeling of disappointment and failure that the Scots returned to their own country. At first sight it might seem as if they had gained very little and lost very much. Their dearly cherished dream of ecclesiastical uniformity with England was dissipated for ever. They left their king prisoner in the hands of the English Parliament, and they found their country in a state of absolute misery. The people as a whole, however, had not departed in the slightest from their determination to maintain and to defend their Church and its form of government and worship. It seemed as if this object had now been secured. They could not foresee the future. They did, however, acquire a new Confession of Faith (1647), a Directory for Public Worship, and a Larger and a Shorter Catechism. This was the result of the labours of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, to which they themselves had sent commissioners. They expected that these symbols would have become the basis for uniformity of religion between the two countries ; but the irony of the situation is found in the fact, that while these documents were produced in England and chiefly by Englishmen, England would have nothing to do with them, while Scotland accepted them, and raised them to the position of the Subordinate Standards of the Church, displacing thereby Knox's Confession and Book of Common Order, and the First and Second Books of Discipline. With all the excellent qualities of the Westminster productions, it is doubtful if Scotland did not lose more than it gained by the sacrifice of its own ancient Standards in the mad pursuit of uniformity with a Church and people that in the end left it in the lurch.

A reaction now set in in favour of the king. The division among the Covenanters which Charles had always been hoping for took place. The clergy were naturally irritated at the rejection of their proposals by the English Parlia-

ment, and the nobles, being still in possession of their church lands, which they were not now to lose, and having no dread of another Act of Revocation—their jealousy, too, of the bishops being appeased by the overthrow of Episcopacy—were ready to favour a movement on behalf of the king. Hamilton took advantage of the present feeling. The result was that three commissioners were appointed to visit Charles at Carisbrook castle in the Isle of Wight, where he was a prisoner. A secret treaty was entered into on 27th December 1647, by which it was agreed that Scotland would stand by and fight for Charles on condition that he would, in the event of his restoration, establish Presbytery in England for three years, and suppress the Independents and all other sectaries. The Covenant he refused to make compulsory, but he undertook to have it confirmed by Act of Parliament. This secret treaty was known as the 'Engagement,' and so afraid were the contracting parties of its becoming public that they caused it to be wrapped in lead and buried in the garden of the castle.

The cleavage in the ranks of the Covenanters which had now taken place is further seen in the meeting of the Estates convened on the 2nd March 1648. An overwhelming majority of the nobles, barons, and even commissioners from the burghs stood for the Royalists' side; and on the 11th April the result of their deliberations was communicated to the English Parliament. They demanded the liberation of the king, the disbanding of the army, and the fulfilment of their old agreement in terms of the Solemn League and Covenant. The English Parliament was in no mood to listen to such proposals. The Independents had the upper hand in the country, and they had no intention of becoming Presbyterians, although the Parliament was prepared to make concessions in that direction. While the Scottish Estates decided in the manner now indicated, the country was strong against them. The votes of the commissioners from the burghs

were influenced by Hamilton's assurance that Charles would accept the Covenant, but the clergy and the people as a body knew better. The former, while irritated at their treatment by the English Parliament, were by no means prepared to show their resentment by becoming Royalists. They stood as firmly as ever by the Covenant, and the people, as a whole, were with them.

Hamilton was able with great difficulty to raise a force of some 10,000 men, and, on the 8th July 1648, he led it across the Border. Cromwell met his army and inflicted severe defeats on it at Preston, Wigan, and Warrington. Hamilton himself surrendered on the 25th July. The Covenanters, especially those of Ayrshire and the west, whose march to Edinburgh at this crisis with the Earl of Loudon at their head is known as the Whigamores' Raid, now put forth their strength. They showed on which side the country really was, and Cromwell felt so assured of the support of Scotland, that he visited Edinburgh at the head of a force, and entered into an agreement with Argyll and Johnston of Warriston, by which Scotland was to make common cause with the Independents against the royalist party. This union was unnatural and could not be expected to last, for there was very little in common between the contracting parties.

At the beginning of the following year (January 1649) the Estates passed the famous Act of Classes, which at the first blush would seem to identify Scotland still more closely with the English Independents. It was a purging Act, which disabled every one who refused to recognise the Covenant from holding any military or civil office. It derived its name from the fact that it affected four classes of Malignants. Scotland was thus on the high road towards the policy of exclusive dealing which ended in the final break-up of the great national party that framed the two Covenants. The first blow to the agreement that was entered into with the English Independents was given by the news that reached Scotland of their intention to put Charles on his trial. The whole

nation was alarmed and indignant. The Scottish commissioners made strong protests, but all in vain. On the 30th January 1649 Charles was executed before the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall. Hamilton in England and Huntly in Scotland were soon to meet with a similar fate.

If Charles had been content to leave the government and worship of the Church of Scotland alone, the revolution which brought him to the scaffold might have been averted. Even his failure in ruling England could not have resulted in the tragedy of Whitehall without the assistance of the Scots. But he was impracticable, and his forcing of the Liturgy upon the Scottish Church and people stirred up the antagonistic spirit which had been fostered by Melville. He was a martyr to a false theory. He regarded himself as the Vicegerent of heaven, and looked upon every act of disobedience to his royal fiat as a sin and crime. The time had gone past when the Scottish people could accept such a conception of government, and as Charles was obstinate and even fanatical, the only argument that could solve the difficulty was deposition or the block.

CHAPTER XXXI

SCOTLAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH, 1649-1660

THE execution of Charles placed Scotland in a dilemma. England was now under a form of government which was essentially republican, and Scotland was intensely monarchical. Scotsmen believed that Charles was the one hundred and seventh in direct descent of their kings, and their patriotism was deeply wounded by the action of the English. In addition they had no liking for the Independents, who were now in the ascendant. They had not forgotten how their dream of uniformity had been dispelled, and they were not at all prepared to place their country under the control of the English Parliament or of any dictator whom it might appoint. Accordingly, on the 5th of February 1649, the Scottish Estates proclaimed Charles II. to be King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. They could not help foreseeing that this would ultimately mean war with England, but they were prepared to take the risk. It was, all the same, a strange position in which this resolution of the Estates placed Scotland. The hatred of Malignancy had been growing in intensity among a certain section of the Covenanters, and now the nation found itself recognising as its king the greatest Malignant of them all. The Puritanism which so largely prevailed in England was now affecting Scotland, and, with all its excellence, it was breeding a spirit of narrowness which in the end proved its incapacity to be the governing element in any party or Church that claimed to be national. Its moral earnestness has become the heritage of the nation, but its narrow spirit has passed away.

The growing belief among the Covenanters in the Divine

origin and obligatoriness of their two Covenants is seen in the fact that they made Charles's acceptance of them the condition of receiving the crown. The young prince was in the Hague at this time, and commissioners were sent to treat with him. On the 11th June, as he was on the point of sailing for Scotland, he signed the treaty, thereby expressing his readiness to become, what his father steadily refused to be, a covenanted king. Some shrewdly suspected then, what every one now knows, that Charles perjured himself by this agreement. He looked upon Scotland as a stepping-stone to the English throne, and with that insincerity for which he afterwards became so notorious he accepted conditions which, when his day of power came, he had not the slightest intention of fulfilling. This feature of his character was, even at this early date, indicated in another direction. His treatment of Montrose was one of the first blots on his name.

The brilliant royalist leader made one more venture on behalf of the king. While Charles was negotiating with the Covenanters, he was abetting Montrose in his effort to rally the Royalists of Scotland. With this object Montrose landed in Kirkwall, and at the head of a force of about 1200 men worked his way south, but at Carbisdale, by the Kyle of Sutherland, he was attacked on the 27th April 1650 by a force of cavalry under Lieutenant-General Strachan. Montrose's followers were cut to pieces, and he himself a few days afterwards was caught and handed over to the Government by M'Leod of Assynt. There could be no doubt as to his fate. As he was already under an act of outlawry and forfeiture, no trial was necessary. He was summarily ordered to be hanged. The sentence was executed on the 21st May at the Market Cross at Edinburgh. His body was dismembered. Every indignity was heaped upon him while life remained, and upon his body after his death. Montrose was a fiery meteor, who for one brief year shot across the country leaving destruction in his path. He is described as an idealist. So were the

Covenanters themselves, although their dreams were vastly different. He stands out as the greatest Scotsman of that period, if greatness is to be judged by a chivalrous adherence to principles and a loyal devotion to the cause which he cherished.

Charles landed at Speymouth on the 23rd June, and his appearance in the country was the signal for a war with England. The Estates, fully aware of this, appointed a committee of their number to act along with the Commission of the Church for the management of affairs. On the 22nd July Cromwell entered Scotland, and by the 28th of the same month he reached Musselburgh. David Leslie with a force of 26,000 men met the invader, and for a time succeeded in out-generalling Cromwell. The English commander desired to make Leith his base, and being foiled in this attempt, he endeavoured to reach Queensferry. Here again he was checkmated by Leslie and compelled to retreat to Dunbar. Leslie pursued him, and, encamping on a height which commanded the English position, fairly entrapped Cromwell. A process of purging had been going on all this time in the Scottish army which had shorn it of its best strength. The preachers and extreme Covenanters insisted upon every officer and soldier who was not a true-blue Covenanter being dismissed from the army. Thousands were in this way cashiered, so that in the end 'only ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit,' were left. It was these same preachers whom Cromwell tried to propitiate, and to whom he said, 'I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken.' Cromwell had a firm belief that in military matters Providence fights on the side of the big battalions. His own army had been seriously weakened by disease, many had died, and a number had to be shipped back invalided to England. He was short of provisions, and had all along struggled to keep in touch with the coast, so that he might receive

supplies. But he now felt that, unless something unexpected happened, his only course would be to ship his troops home.

The Scottish army had only one advantage over Cromwell's, that of position. It also had suffered from scarcity of provisions, and the weather being wet and the men being without shelter, they were not in the best mood or condition for offering battle; but the Covenanters, afraid lest Cromwell might elude their grasp, determined on routing him in an engagement. They accordingly decided to descend from their strong position and invite a battle. When Cromwell saw them, on the night of the 2nd September, descending to the plain, he was equally surprised and delighted. He knew that his chance had now come, and he is credited with exclaiming, ‘The Lord hath delivered them into my hands.’ There is great uncertainty as to who was responsible for the action of the Scottish army. David Leslie was in command, and he had up till this point conducted the campaign with decided skill. The preachers are blamed for forcing on him the advice which led to so dire a disaster. The Scottish army as it was now composed had no chance whatsoever, on equal terms, against the veterans of Cromwell. Leslie put the blame upon the extreme Covenanters who had purged his force of most of his capable officers. His army in the fatal encounter was badly led, and in spite of the gallantry of one or two regiments, the Scottish defeat ended in so complete a rout as to be ever after known as the ‘Dunbar Drove.’ Between 3000 and 4000 Scotsmen fell in the battle, 10,000 were taken prisoners, one-half of whom were sent disabled to their homes, and the other half shipped to New England.

Scotland was now practically at the feet of Cromwell. The Covenanting extremists, from this time known as ‘Remonstrants’ or ‘Protesters,’ attributed the defeat to the admission of the king within the sacred circle of the Covenant, while there were still grave doubts as to the

reality of his profession. Argyll's position, as the leader of what had been for some time the national party, was undermined, and he threw in his lot with the king, among the inducements being the promise of a dukedom, and the acceptance by Charles of one of his daughters as queen. The third party in the country was, of course, Cromwell's, and with the nation so much divided one could easily foresee its easy conquest by the invincible leader of the Ironsides. Efforts were made to conciliate the Remonstrants by a further purging of the king's household (4th October 1650). Charles resented this, and on being apprised of a royalist rising in his favour, he suddenly escaped from Perth; but after a long ride and an uncomfortable night's lodgings he retraced his steps. This incident is known as the 'Start.'

Moderate counsels now began to prevail both in Parliament and in Church, and the Estates, which met on the 25th November, passed a resolution (hence the name 'Resolutioners') condemning the Remonstrants, practically rescinded the Act of Classes, and further resolved that Charles should be crowned. The ceremony took place at Scone on the 1st January 1651, Argyll placing the crown on the king's head. It was impossible for the Scottish leaders to foresee the future, but they might in any case have remembered the past. They had sufficient experience of Charles to know something of his character. They ought to have entertained grave doubts of the reception which he would give, when his day of power came, to their most cherished convictions, but they were blinded for the time being by their determination not to have their country under the supremacy of England, and particularly of Cromwell. They, accordingly, resolved upon fighting for their independence and their king. An army was raised; Leslie again was made commander-in-chief, and Middleton, of whom more was to be heard, was made master of the horse. This was in May, and in June Cromwell started on his campaign against Leslie, who was at the Torwood near

Falkirk, the place hallowed by the name of Wallace. Cromwell crossed to Burntisland, marched to Perth, and then turned south to attack Leslie. The Scottish army on the 31st July marched south, and crossed the Border with Cromwell in hot pursuit. The contending armies met at Worcester on the 3rd of September, the anniversary of the fight at Dunbar. It was the last battle of the Civil War, and so great a victory did Cromwell gain, that he called it his 'Crowning Mercy.' Charles narrowly escaped, but Leslie was taken prisoner.

For the next nine years Scotland was under the dominion of England. The victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and the nation's own counsels being divided by the contentions of Remonstrants, Resolutioners and Royalists, left the country an easy conquest for Cromwell, who thus achieved what even the greatest of English monarchs, such as Edward I. and Henry VIII., had failed to accomplish. The English yoke, if yoke it were, came of course to an end at the Restoration, but it is more than likely that, though that event had not taken place, the old Scottish spirit, which even now was far from broken, would have effectively asserted itself. Cromwell's first aim was to reduce the country, and with this object in view he left Monk behind him when he set out in pursuit of the Scottish army. His lieutenant lost no time in carrying out his instructions. On the 14th August 1651 Monk took Stirling, where he captured the chair of state, the royal robes, and the national records, which he dispatched to London. Two weeks later a detachment of his cavalry surprised the Committee of Estates which was meeting at Alyth, and thus ended all semblance of an independent Scottish government. Monk then marched on Dundee, which was forced to yield. It is averred that barbarities were practised on this occasion by the English similar to those which took place in Berwick-on-Tweed when it was captured by Edward I. It is possible that Monk's severity has been exaggerated. In any case, the report of what had befallen Dundee left no heart in the

other towns for any strenuous opposition, and by the end of the year the country was subdued as far north as Orkney, the only stronghold still holding out being Dunnottar castle, where the Scottish regalia, crown, sceptre, and sword of state had been placed for safety. It surrendered, however, on the 25th May, but the symbols of Scottish royalty and independence were preserved by the ingenuity and bravery of a Mrs. Granger, the wife of the minister of a neighbouring parish. She pretended to the English commander that she desired to enter the castle for some lint which she had placed there. He granted her permission, and wrapping up the regalia in her bundle of lint, she carried them home, and she and her husband buried them under the pulpit of the church. They are now in the castle of Edinburgh.

Scotland was, in the opinion of Cromwell, ready for receiving the form of government of which he approved. Accordingly, in October, eight commissioners were sent north, who issued the proclamation of the English Parliament, the primary object of which was to see the Gospel preached and freedom of worship established. Cromwell's main object was the union of Scotland and England in one Commonwealth, and one proposal after another was placed before the English Parliament for the accomplishment of this great end. As this important scheme of the Protector came at last to absolutely nothing, owing to his death, it is not necessary to deal with it in detail. It may be sufficient to state that the number of representatives which Scotland was to have in Parliament was thirty. On two occasions at least Scottish representatives did go to Parliament, twenty-one on the first, and the full number, thirty, on the second; but at the last Parliament which they attended a hot debate took place—which all the same ended in their favour—as to whether they had any right to be present, seeing that they were practically nominees of the Government. The problem which far-seeing statesmen had been considering for a hundred years

had the appearance of now being finally solved in the Parliamentary union of the two countries. But the time was not ripe; the Scots were not free parties in the negotiations. The question, therefore, in the end had fortunately to be set aside till the next century, when the interests of both countries led them willingly into a permanent union.

One feature of Cromwell's government in Scotland deserves very especial praise—the administration of justice. Commissioners were sent for this express purpose, and it was universally admitted, even at the time, that the law had never been so firmly or so equitably carried out in Scotland. It was notorious that up till then favouritism, kinship, and other factors entered into the administration of justice. Nothing of the kind was tolerated under Cromwell. Monk had besides fortified the chief towns and built twenty smaller forts in different parts of the country. A system of police and spies was also established, which kept the authorities informed of any attempted rising, that could thus be speedily suppressed. It may have been a slight exaggeration on the part of a contemporary when he declared that a man could travel in safety from one part of Scotland to another with a hundred pounds in his pockets and only a switch in his hand; but that any one should have been tempted to express such an opinion and risk contradiction is a sufficient proof of the good government and order that prevailed.

Another feature of Cromwell's Protectorate calls for very hearty commendation. Every one was allowed to worship according to his conscience. Religious toleration was insisted on. This did not please the Covenanters, because they thought that the only form of worship which should be allowed was their own. Presbyterianism they firmly believed was of Divine appointment, and any other system ought to be put down by the strong arm of the law. This was the position into which the troubles and struggles of the times had driven these good men.

Opposition had made them narrow. But unfortunately they were not all at one as to which Presbyterian body should be tolerated. The Remonstrants and the Resolutioners each believed themselves to be the true custodians of the Covenants, and they even went the length of laying their differences before Cromwell. The Protector solved the question in his own way. Just as he felt himself impeded by the palavers of the Long Parliament, so he found his government of Scotland hindered by the contentions and 'vain babbling' of the General Assembly. On the 20th April 1653 he put an end to the former by marching an armed force into the midst of the assembled legislators, lifting up the mace itself and saying, 'What shall we do with this bauble? Take it away,' clearing the House of Commons at the same time of its members; and on the 20th July of the same year one of his officers entered the General Assembly and asked by what authority they met, and then told them to be gone. 'And it was for this,' exclaims a Presbyterian writer, 'the Church of Scotland had given up its own Confession, its own Prayer Book, its own traditions.'

With the General Assembly thus silenced, Cromwell had nothing to fear, for the greater part of the nobility were either in prison, in exile, or overwhelmed by debt. Even Argyll had been coerced, for Colonel Lilburne, an officer of Deane's, whom Monk had left for a short time in command, had invaded Argyll's territory and brought him to terms, the great Covenanting leader agreeing to be at least an apparent supporter of Cromwell's government. During the nine years of the Protectorate there was only one royalist rising that attained to any serious dimensions or was of a threatening character. It took place in 1653 among the Western Highlanders under the Earl of Glencairn. In February of the following year, 1654, Middleton arrived with a commander-in-chief's commission from Charles. He led the revolt, but Colonel Morgan, one of Monk's best officers, came upon Middleton at Dalnaspidal

and dispersed his followers. With a general such as Monk in command of the ten thousand men that composed his force, there was very little hope of serious trouble in Scotland.

Cromwell died in September 1658, and with his death the rule of the English Commonwealth may be said to have come to an end. It lingered on for a little more than a year under the Protector's son Richard, but with Monk's march across the Border on the 1st of January 1660, English supremacy in Scotland ceased. It must be admitted that on the whole it was a beneficent supremacy; for Scotland, being so much divided, was at the time unable to govern itself. It was no doubt with delight that the nation witnessed the departure of Monk and his army. For one thing it was free of the heavy exactions that were made for their support; but against this has to be set the free trade with England which Cromwell introduced, and which tended towards the enrichment of the country, the righteous administration of justice, the religious toleration and the outward peace that prevailed. The Scottish people overlooked all this in view of the fact that their independence for the time being was suppressed, and that they were not governed by their own native prince. The second desire was soon to be gratified, but with it, alas! the denial of the first.

CHAPTER XXXII

CHARLES II., 1660-1685

No monarch ever had a greater opportunity for bestowing peace and contentment upon a people than had Charles II. when he ascended the throne of Great Britain and Ireland. Especially in Scotland was there an opening for him to confer lasting benefits, and it was not so much his misfortune as his fault that he used the opportunity for proving himself to be a greater curse to the nation than any king it ever had. It may be that those whom he entrusted with the government of the country were chiefly to blame, but the king himself cannot be freed of responsibility; and the fact has to be recorded that it was Scotsmen who were his advisers in the unfortunate measures that were enacted, and that any concessions that were granted to the stricken people came from the hands of the English Government. It might have been thought that Charles would have profited by the experience of his three immediate predecessors, two of whom lost their heads from having failed to understand the temper of Scotsmen, and by endeavouring to govern them on the theory of Divine right. The people themselves were in the mood to accept compromises if these had been judiciously offered to them. Instead of this, before the reign was a year old all that they had fought for and cherished was suddenly snatched out of their hands, and a form of government in Church and State thrust upon them which no self-respecting nation could tolerate.

Scotland, like England, welcomed the Restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his fathers with great rejoicings. For the last nine years it had been in the position of a

conquered country, and while the rule of the usurper may have been beneficent enough, it was that of an alien. With the return of their own prince to the throne they saw the restoration of their national independence, and every class, labouring under some special grievance, saw in the new régime hopes of redress. The great question, of course, that agitated the minds of the most serious section of the people, was the settlement of religion. It was owing to the action of the two last monarchs on this subject that the people rose in revolt. The times, however, had changed; much had been learned in the interval; and while the feelings of some had been embittered, the great body of the people were prepared to listen to any reasonable solution that might be presented. The old love for the Covenants had grown cold in the breasts of many. Even the Protesters, who, as compared with the Resolutioners, were in a small minority, had been kept down by the strong hand of Cromwell, and their extreme views were falling out of favour. The Resolutioners themselves, while warmly attached to Presbyterianism, were sufficiently reasonable to make terms; and the nobility, who saw in the Restoration of the monarchy their only chance of salvation, had ceased to be afraid of bishops, seeing that they still held their Church lands, and were now in no danger of losing them. Their affection also for the Covenants was growing cold. Then the great mass of the people, who thought more of worldly advantage and of their own pleasure than of Presbyterianism or Episcopacy, would very readily have fallen in with whatever peaceable agreement might have been arrived at. In circumstances such as these, if Charles and his advisers had really determined upon reintroducing Episcopacy, they might have succeeded. If they had imposed a moderate form of it, such as prevailed in the reign of James VI., and refused to sanction the Book of Canons or the Liturgy which Charles I. had vainly tried to introduce; or if they had followed the wisest plan of all and simply allowed the Presbyterian form of Church govern-

ment to remain, they would have shown true statesmanship. Either of these two courses would have brought peace to the country. But unfortunately the men whom Charles had chosen as his advisers, almost by their very first acts, made either course impossible, and the Protesters, who were the first to act on behalf of the people, made proposals of so extreme a nature that, if they spoke in the name of even half the nation, the contention and struggles of the succeeding years were almost inevitable.

The first action of Charles was a sure indication of the way in which he intended to govern Scotland. He chose his Privy Council without consulting Parliament, intending to make it the instrument of his personal and absolute rule, thus following in the footsteps of his father and his grandfather. Glencairn was made Chancellor, Rothes, President, and Lauderdale, Secretary. Argyll, who had placed the crown of Scotland on Charles's head, had no post in the new Government. He had gone to London on the 8th July hoping that the king, for whom he had done so much, would have welcomed him. His welcome was his arrest and committal to the Tower. Some time afterwards he was taken to Edinburgh and tried for treason. His trial ended on the 25th of May 1661, and two days afterwards the sentence of death passed upon him was carried out. The charge on which he was condemned was his acknowledgment of the government of Cromwell. Many saw in Argyll's execution the destruction of the Covenant itself, for he was its representative man. Whatever may be thought of his lack of moral courage in trying positions, he showed no lack of it in his most trying hour. He met his fate with a calmness and dignity worthy of the great name he bore and of the cause he had championed.

The Committee of Estates met on the 23rd of August 1661 at Edinburgh, and a small company of the Protesters assembled in a private house in the city. They drew up the document already referred to in the form of a supplication and address to the king. In it they implored his

Majesty 'to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and everything contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, to fill all places of trust not only in Scotland but in England and Ireland with those who had taken the Covenant and were of known affection to the cause of God, and to remove the beginnings of stumbling, that had already been given, by taking away the ceremonies and Service-book from his own Chapel and family and other places of his dominions.' 'This,' the late Professor Flint remarks, 'was still the Protesters' ideal of good government, but the general body of Presbyterians had not been so blind to the teaching of experience. If the king and his councillors had left the Presbyterian government of the Church undisturbed, and the petitions of the Protesters unnoticed, Protesters would have rapidly diminished. Unfortunately this was not the course they took.' The assembled Protesters were immediately seized, only one escaping. On the following day a Proclamation against 'all unlawful and unwarrantable meetings and conventicles without his Majesties special authority' was issued.

Considerable encouragement was given to the main body of Presbyterians by a letter which Charles sent to the Presbytery of Edinburgh (3rd September). In it he said, 'We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation.' This communication naturally led the Church to believe that Presbyterianism would be continued undisturbed; but within a very short time it became clear that nothing was further from the mind of Charles and his Government. On the 1st of January 1661 Parliament met and continued sitting till the 12th of July. The king's commissioner was Middleton, now an earl. He was a drunken, dissolute soldier of fortune, who had worked his way, chiefly by loyalty to the king, to this supreme position. Of the 393 Acts which this Parliament passed, three deserve special mention. One made the king supreme over every

cause and person ; another made the renewing of the Covenant illegal ; and the third was the famous Rescissory Act which abolished all legislation since 1633. Parliament's chief intention in passing this Act speedily appeared. The king through the Privy Council restored Episcopacy, and on the 4th December four of the bishops were sent to London to be duly consecrated. Among them were two whose names stand out prominently in the history of their country, Robert Leighton and James Sharp. No two men could differ more widely in character and in aim than they. Leighton was a saint, and Sharp was the most worldly of ecclesiastics. He had been sent by the Resolutioners, to which party he was attached, to the court of Charles in order to influence him in favour of Presbyterianism. Scotsmen cherished the hope at that time of seeing their favourite form of Church government prevailing all over the island. Sharp found how vain this hope was, and he began to have doubts as to whether it would maintain its existence even in Scotland ; so at least he wrote. His enemies charged him with having betrayed the very cause which he was commissioned to champion ; and that when he found the wind setting in a different direction, he set his sails to suit the breeze. It is still doubted whether he bade for the Primacy of Scotland before or after he found the establishment of Presbytery hopeless. In any case his subsequent conduct fully justifies those who take the less favourable view.

Scotland was now face to face with a crisis which demanded the ablest leadership to meet, but no man or party was forthcoming to resist the impending changes and to save the Church from being overthrown. The Protesters were too extreme. They ruined their cause by their unreasonableness. The Resolutioners were too timid, trusting more to communications with the king than to independent and strenuous action. Nor could the country produce a man capable of leading. There was no Knox, no Melville, no Henderson. The country was untrue to

itself, and it had as a consequence to pay the penalty. Three courses for establishing the new system were open. There was the way of Leighton: he would conquer by love; there was the way of Sharp, who would gradually displace the disaffected clergy by others who were more complaisant; and there was the way of the Government, which was that of compulsion. It was the third course that was adopted.

'The history which we have now to consider,' says Dr. Flint, 'is from this point to the Revolution very easy to understand. It is on the one side a continuous series of attempts made by the Government to force an ecclesiastical system of a kind inconsistent either with civil or religious liberty on a people to whom it was obnoxious, and on the other side, the series of acts by which that people resisted the pressure so long, so uninterruptedly, and so heavily brought to bear on them. The Government during the whole of this time treated the Presbyterian community as if it were a piece of iron which had to be beaten into a particular shape, and it transformed itself, as it were, into a hammer and anvil for the purpose; and the question of questions for Scotland was just this: Will hammer and anvil shape the iron or will the iron break the hammer and anvil? On a people so circumstanced the chief demand is, that it be firm, tenacious, patient, or what the oppressor will call stubborn, *dour*. That the Covenanters were so, is their glory.'

The Parliament which met in May 1662, after ratifying the Acts of the Privy Council, put the Government's method of enforcing obedience to Episcopacy into force. It passed an Act restoring patronage; and, as many of the ministers were elected by their congregations and the Presbytery, they were enjoined to receive, by the 20th September, presentation from their lawful patrons, and collation from their bishops, or demit their charges. This act was indeed the beginning of troubles to come. Very few of the ministers complied with its demands. An Act of the Privy Council

had accordingly to be obtained to the effect that, if they did not comply by the 1st of November, their parishioners were to cease to acknowledge them as their ministers, and to refuse to pay their stipends. Between two and three hundred of the clergy demitted their charges rather than wound their consciences by obeying this Act. The Government felt that it had miscalculated the consequences of its action, and extended the time limit to the 1st of February 1663.

Middleton, who was at least nominally responsible for the course of events up to this point, had not gained any laurels. He was being undermined by Lauderdale, who managed to displace him (December 1663). The new administration had the Earl of Rothes at its head, but he was simply Lauderdale's mouthpiece. Lauderdale, who was now also an earl, was a descendant of the famous Maitland of Lethington. He had a reputation before the Restoration for piety, and had been a leading man among the Covenanters. But his professions were insincere. 'He was a most unscrupulous and depraved man, hypocritical, avaricious, licentious, a mass of vices associated with the abilities most fitted to make them dangerous and disastrous—a man whose soul was far more repulsive than his body was uncouth. During the last twenty years of his life he, above all men, was a shame and a curse to Scotland.' Rothes resembled Charles himself both in character and in person. He had both the genial qualities and the shameful vices of the king. Such were the men who were now masters of Scotland.

The Parliament of 1663 passed an Act against 'separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority.' This Act came to be known as the 'Bishops' Drag-net,' and the history of Scotland during the remainder of Charles's reign is in large measure the history of attempts of the Government to enforce this Act. The ejection of ministers, especially in the south-western districts, which now followed, roused the wrath of the people, which was further intensified

by the intrusion into their parishes of a body of clergy who were known as the 'King's Curates.' They were for the most part uneducated and illiterate; many of them consorted with the meaner gentry, and contracted unclerical habits. They acted as spies upon their parishioners, and were tempted to play the mean part of informers. Fines were imposed upon those who refused to conform, and troops were raised and quartered in the disaffected districts. When the fines were not paid the soldiers took up their residence in the houses of the recusants, and did not leave until all the money was forthcoming. The fines thus extracted maintained the troops, and enriched the impecunious and greedy Royalists. Some nine hundred, besides, who had been excluded from the Act of Indemnity, were now called upon to make up their arrears. The country accordingly was in a miserable condition. Free trade with England had been abolished, the £40,000 which Parliament had voted to the king was a burden heavier than the country could bear, and the war with Holland seriously interfered with Scottish commerce. Discontent was so prevalent that a rising was feared, and sterner measures were adopted in order to prevent it.

The people, being denied the ministrations of their own clergy, had recourse to those Conventicles which were to become famous. They assembled in some lonely spot, and safeguarded themselves from surprise by posting watchers on the neighbouring heights. By the side of a loch or on the bleak moorland, gatherings took place of stern God-fearing peasants, who wished to hear the word of truth spoken by their own beloved ministers, and to participate in the simple service of their own Presbyterian Church. It was now the aim of the Government to suppress these Conventicles, and in order to make the soldiers all the more eager they were allowed to share the fines. The task of reducing these disturbed districts was entrusted to Sir James Turner, a dissipated soldier. He discharged his duty with a severity that made his name hated, and that provoked a rising which

had, as one of its first results, his own capture. On 15th November 1666 a number of Galloway men, goaded into revolt, seized him in Dumfries. Having thus made a beginning, they felt compelled to advance. They accordingly marched to Ayrshire, then to Lanark, and finally to Edinburgh. On reaching Colinton, three miles west of the capital, they learned that Sir Thomas Dalziel with a strong body of royalist troops was on their track. They therefore determined on retreat, marched across the Pentlands, and encamped near Rullion Green. Their commander was Colonel Wallace, an able and experienced soldier. They were only nine hundred all told, but so good an account did they give of themselves, that it took Dalziel with his three thousand well-appointed horse and foot four or five hours of that 'fair and frosty morning' before he could scatter them.

The severities which followed form one of the most disgraceful chapters in the national history. Few fell in the fight, but fifty were captured, and the neighbouring peasants handed over to the authorities thirty more, thus showing for one thing that the rebellion was premature. The prisoners were taken to Edinburgh and shamefully treated. Fifteen were hanged. It is deplorable to think that the man who took the leading part in meting out the severest penalties to those poor men, who had been driven into revolt, was James Sharp, the Archbishop of St Andrews. It was also at this time that torture began to be applied, and the favourite instrument was the 'boot.' The culprit's legs were encased in wooden sockets into which wedges were then driven until, in some cases, flesh and bone became one soft mass. At a later date the 'thumb-screw' was called into requisition. Fines also were imposed upon those who had abetted the insurgents, and Dalziel, a man of the sternest stamp, whose fanaticism for the royal cause almost amounted to frenzy, was sent into the west with his forces to quench the flame of insurrection, and to compel the people of Ayrshire and Dumfriesshire to

attend their parish churches. He did his work of violence and extortion with zeal and thoroughness, and cut his mark so very deep on these counties that it is hardly yet effaced.

With the fall of Clarendon in England fell also in Scotland Rothes and Sharp. Lauderdale was now supreme, and while he professed to be anxious above all things to obey the will of the king, he would seem to have been a man so much after Charles's own heart, that he was left practically untrammelled in his government of Scotland. Finding that the severe measures of Rothes and Sharp proved unsatisfactory, he began in a more lenient spirit, and issued what is known as the First Indulgence on the 7th June 1669, by which such ejected ministers as had lived peaceably and orderly were allowed to reoccupy their pulpits if they happened to be vacant. Only forty-two ministers took advantage of this Act. They, of course, placed themselves in the position of having to conform to Episcopacy, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the king over all persons and causes. The fact of any having accepted the Indulgence still more embittered the sterner Covenanters and deepened the gulf that already existed between the Presbyterians. Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, strongly objected to Lauderdale's policy, asserting that he had no right to permit ministers to be reinstated in their charges without the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities. The result of Burnet's protest was that he himself was ejected, and Leighton put in his place. The new archbishop endeavoured to heal the breach that was daily growing wider between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians by a scheme which is known as 'Leighton's Accommodation'; but neither party was in a mood to listen to any compromise, and the good archbishop, wearied with the burden of office and the unsatisfactory nature of his position, soon afterwards retired to England. The Covenanters were made, by the harsh and cruel policy of the Government which followed the Pentland Rising, more bitter and irreconcilable than ever,

and they came now to their Conventicles not only with their Bibles, but also with arms.

Lauderdale, on discovering that what he regarded as lenient measures for the suppression of the Covenanters were ineffective, now resorted to more drastic methods. An Act known as 'Letters of Intercommuning,' but which in reality was a form of boycotting, was enforced in 1675. This measure came after the Second Indulgence of 1672, which had no good effect, and a further Act of 1674 by which heritors and masters were made responsible for their tenants and servants. By this boycotting Act, those who held intercourse with persons who were 'denoted' by the Government were held guilty of their crimes. In 1677 it was further enacted that heritors and masters must 'sign a bond for the loyal behaviour of all persons whatever residing on their lands.' It was not surprising that many nobles and gentlemen absolutely declined, in the disaffected districts, to come under this obligation, and the fact of their refusal gave Lauderdale an excuse for marching six thousand Highlanders and three thousand Lowlanders into Ayrshire with instruction to find free quarters where it was most convenient. One can imagine the dismay of gentle folk having thus forced into their homes rough soldiery, many of them half barbarous, but they on that account served the purposes of the Government more effectively, for the aggrieved persons, in order to get rid of their unwelcome guests, were the more willing to pay their fines. After a month's free quarters and luxurious living, to which they had hitherto been absolute strangers, the 'Highland Host' returned home, laden with booty. The result, so far as the Government was concerned, was a harvest of fines and increased disaffection. Indeed it was thought that Lauderdale would not have been displeased if open rebellion had ensued, as in that case the Royalists would have been enriched by the forfeited estates of their victims.

We now enter upon what is undoubtedly the gloomiest

chapter in Scottish history. The year 1679 forms a dark page in the national calendar. In the previous year a man Mitchell was, as Lauderdale termed it, sentenced 'to glorify God at the Grassmarket of Edinburgh.' He had in 1668 attempted to murder Archbishop Sharp in Edinburgh, and, taken before the Privy Council, he was induced to confess on the promise that his life would be spared. Sent to the Bass Rock, he was in 1676 again brought to trial, this time before the Court of Justiciary, and though tortured by the boot, he made no admission. Two years afterwards, in 1678, he was once more tried before the same court. Among his judges were four members of the Privy Council, two of whom were Sharp and Lauderdale, who knew of the promise to spare Mitchell's life. They denied such a promise, and, chiefly at the instigation of Sharp himself, Mitchell was condemned. The archbishop had for some time been regarded by the Covenanters as the visible embodiment of all that was hateful and detestable in the policy of the Government, and although no plot had been organised for his destruction, there would have been pious rejoicings at his death. The cup of his iniquity they held to be full, and the execution of Mitchell filled it to overflowing.

On the 3rd of May, Sharp, accompanied by his daughter, in his carriage reached Magus Muir, two miles from St Andrews, on his return from Edinburgh. Twelve men had met there, among whom were David Hackston of Rathillet and John Balfour of Kinloch, commonly called Burley, on the outlook for one Carmichael, who was an active agent in Fife against the Covenanters. They missed their victim, but by accident found his chief, in the archbishop himself. It seemed to them as if Providence had guided them to this very spot, and placed Sharp in their hands. They fired shots into his carriage, but the bullets missing their mark, they dragged the archbishop out of his coach, and notwithstanding his own and his daughter's entreaties, killed him with their swords. The gulf between the Government

and the extreme section of the Covenanters was now made wider and deeper, and the hatred on both sides became more intense. On the 29th May, the anniversary of the Restoration, eighty armed men entered Rutherglen, put out the bonfires that were blazing in honour of the king, and burned all the Acts of the Government against the Covenanters. On the 1st of June, which was a Sunday, the same men, with others who had gathered to their standard, were engaged in worship, after the simple rites of the Presbyterian Church, at Loudon Hill, when they were surprised by a body of royalist troopers with John Graham of Claverhouse, of whom we now hear for the first time, at their head. The Covenanters were forty horse and two hundred foot strong, and retiring on Drumclog, two miles off, waited the attack. The engagement was short and sharp, and ended in the rout of the Royalists. The victors marched to Glasgow but retired to Hamilton.

The rebellion seemed so serious to the Government that the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles's, was sent north to quell it. The two armies met on the 22nd of June at the bridge which spans the Clyde at Bothwell. The insurgents were on the south, and the Royalists on the north side of the river. The Covenanters agreed to submit, if Monmouth would give promise of a free Parliament and a free General Assembly. He replied that their demands would be considered when they had laid down their arms. The Covenanters were not now the united body they had been at Drumclog; there were divided counsels among them. The ministers 'preached and prayed against one another.' The various Acts of Indulgence had made a split in their party. They were, besides, led by an incapable commander, Robert Hamilton, son of Sir James Hamilton of Preston. The Galloway men, some two or three hundred strong, under Hackston, made a gallant defence of the bridge, keeping the Royalists at bay for one whole hour until their ammunition failed. On demanding a fresh supply or a new detachment to

relieve them, Hamilton ordered them to retreat on the main body. This was a fatal blunder. Monmouth now took his cannon to the opening thus made and fired at the cavalry, who broke and stampeded the infantry, which ended in immediate confusion and flight. Four hundred of the Covenanters were slain, and twelve hundred were taken prisoners, of whom seven were hanged, and the rest taken to the Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh, where they were kept exposed for nearly five months, by night and day, in sunshine and storm. Four hundred, who signed a bond not to rise again against the Government, were set at liberty. Between two and three hundred who refused were shipped to the Barbadoes, but the vessel being wrecked off Orkney, two hundred of them who were fastened under the hatches were drowned. Bothwell Bridge ended the career of Lauderdale, and in December 1679 James, Duke of York, the king's brother, took his place in the Privy Council.

If Rothes and Lauderdale chastised the Covenanters with whips, James determined to chastise them with scorpions. Life now became unsafe in Scotland, even for the law-abiding, for even to speak to a 'denoted' Covenanter was death or outlawry. The leaders of the movement for liberty might be slaughtered, but the cause itself could not be slain. Other leaders took the place of those who had fallen. Two men now came to the front—Donald Cargill and Richard Cameron, whose followers, from the name of the latter, were afterwards, and are even still known as 'Cameronians.' On the 22nd of June 1680 twenty of them marched into Sanquhar, and fixed on the market-cross a declaration in which they disowned Charles Stewart as king, on the ground of his 'perjury and breach of his Covenant to God and His Kirk.' On the 22nd of July the same company with others, who had gathered in the parish of Auchinleck in Ayrshire, saw a body of dragoons under Bruce of Earlsall approaching to attack them. The Covenanters were only sixty-three in all, forty foot and twenty-three horse, and retiring on Airds Moss, where they

believed, if retreat were necessary, they might manage to escape, they waited the onslaught. Most of them did escape, but Cameron was slain, fighting bravely to the end. Hackston was taken, and his doom was a foregone conclusion. Cargill still remained, but he was caught the following year in a mill in Covington in the Upper Ward of Lanark, by Irvine of Bonshaw. He was taken to Edinburgh, where he bravely met his death; nine others of his company soon after following him.

In July 1681 James came to Edinburgh as the Royal Commissioner. On the 28th of the same month Parliament met, and its first Act was an Act of Succession which was to the effect that 'no difference in religion can alter the right of succession and lineal descent of the Crown.' Everybody understood the significance of this Act, for by it James, who was a Roman Catholic, wished to make himself secure of the Scottish throne. Another Act which was equally significant was the Test Act. It had to be signed by every one before undertaking office in Church or State. It was so ambiguous that any one signing it might be a Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or Roman Catholic. The President of the Court of Session, Sir James Dalrymple, resigned his office rather than accept the Test, and eighty Episcopalian ministers demitted their charges for the same reason. Archibald, Earl of Argyll, was asked to accept it. He said he would do so 'as far as it was consistent with itself.' James, who evidently wished him out of the way, had him arrested, but the earl escaped the intentions of the Royal Commissioner for the time being. By these two Acts James sought to make himself certain of the Scottish Crown, and after ascending the throne to have no trouble with ecclesiastical or civil officials.

The Cameronians, who were now driven to despair, issued their Apologetical Declaration (1684), which warned any one who attempted to meddle with them that he did so at his peril. James, who probably rejoiced at this challenge, as he saw in it the justification for completely

extirpating all religious recusants, selected three instruments for executing his will. These were 'Bluidy MacKenzie,' the Lord-Advocate, Colonel Thomas Dalziel, and Graham of Claverhouse. Legal procedure was dispensed with; the orders to the military leaders were, that every suspected person whom they captured was to be asked, 'Do you abjure the Apologetical Declaration?' If the answer was 'No,' he was shot on the spot, but if 'Yes,' he was sent to Edinburgh to be dealt with by 'Bluidy MacKenzie.' So desperate did matters become, that a number of nobles and gentlemen determined, in 1682, to settle in Carolina. Certain of them, among whom was Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode, went to London to make arrangements for the new settlement. Baillie would seem to have got mixed up in the Rye House Plot, the object of which was to prevent the succession of James to the throne. He was arrested, sent to Edinburgh, tried and condemned, and, although he was an old man, he was executed at the Market Cross on the 24th December 1684.

Charles II. died on the 2nd February 1685. He was without doubt the worst king that ever reigned over Scotland. During the twenty-five years he was king, he never visited the country where he was first crowned, and which was prepared to support and obey him in all things lawful. He handed over the government of Scotland to a succession of men whose only interest was to execute his will and to aggrandise themselves. His own main object in life was to get as much pleasure of a sensual nature out of it as possible, and to be supplied with the means that would enable him to satisfy his low tastes. He gloried in his prerogative, practically dispensed with Parliament, and governed through his Privy Council, which was the slavish instrument of his will. Episcopacy suited his conception of regal power, for the bishops whom he created were subservient to his will, and the clergy under them gave him no trouble. Under no conceivable circumstances could

a free, self-respecting people acquiesce in such a conception of government, more especially when they found their most cherished convictions scouted, and they themselves, for adhering to them, shot down like wild beasts. The only excuse that has ever been put forward for the tyranny and cruelty of Charles and his subordinates, was the fear of a rising such as that which brought his father to the block. They believed, it is argued, that it was only by the stern and ruthless measures which were adopted, that such a danger could be averted. No one at this time of day can accept such a vain excuse. Almost from the first hour of his reign to the last, Charles pursued one policy, and never gave any other a chance. It may be true that the Remonstrants became as extreme on their own side as Charles was on his, but they were driven to such extremities by the most brutal treatment of subjects by a king of which Scottish history has any record. The quarrel in the end, it is true, was settled by way of compromise, but it was a compromise that vindicated the resistance of the Covenanters. Their glory and the glory of their country will for ever lie in the fact that they were true to their convictions till death.

CHAPTER XXXIII

JAMES VII., 1685-1688

JAMES VII. was proclaimed King of Scots at the Market Cross of Edinburgh on 10th February 1685. Fortunately for Scotland his reign only lasted three years, for if the 'killing time,' by which it is known, had lasted much longer, his ancient kingdom would either have been reduced to a state of dependence from which it might never have recovered, or have risen in a rebellion that would have resulted in torrents of blood. It was noted at the time as significant that James did not take the Coronation Oath which bound the Scottish kings to defend the Protestant religion. The true character of the new king came out in his treatment of the Cameronians. The followers of Richard Cameron, who now owned James Renwick as their leader, carried out to the letter the threat involved in their Apostolical Declaration. They meted out to those who were hunting them to death the treatment which the Government had for years, and now more sternly than ever, been measuring out to them. Shooting down without quarter was practised on both sides. To such a condition had the Stewart rule in Scotland degenerated. Certain concessions, it is true, were made to recusants who did not give a general satisfaction. Hundreds of them had their ears cut off and were then sent as slaves to the plantations. Those who stood by the Apologetical Declaration were shot down without parley by the officer in charge.

The man who gained the most unenviable reputation in connection with these doings was John Graham of Claverhouse, popularly known as 'Bloody Clavers.' He himself in a notorious case, that of John Brown of Priestfield, the

‘Christian carrier,’ gives in a report to the Duke of Queensberry an account of his methods. ‘On Friday last, among the hills betwixt Douglas and the Ploughlands, we pursued two fellows a great way through the mosses, and in the end seized them. They had no arms about them and denied they had any. Being asked if they would take the Abjuration the eldest of the two, called John Brown, refused it. Nor would he swear not to rise in arms against the king, but said he knew no king. Upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable papers, I caused shoot him dead. Which he suffered very unconcernedly.’ Another case was that of the Wigtown Martyrs. ‘Two women, Margaret McLauchlan, advanced in age, and Margaret Wilson, said to have been a girl of eighteen, were sentenced to death. The sentence was executed at Wigtown on the 11th May 1685 by drowning. It was natural that in the martyrology of the Covenant this affair should not only be remembered, but that it should be appropriately adorned. The place where such a sentence could be effected was the Water of the Solway, celebrated for its rapid tides. The method of execution, according to tradition, was the tying to stakes within high-water mark, and leaving the victims until the tide rose over them. The old woman, it is said, was placed so as to suffer before her companion, in order that she, the younger, might be impressed or terrified into compliance.’ Neither recanted, and both were drowned.

James’s first Scottish Parliament met on the 23rd April 1685. It was most subservient. It granted many favours to the monarch, none to the Cameronians; on the contrary it involved innocent persons and subjected them to equal punishment, for it decreed that ‘all persons, preachers or hearers, proved to have been present at a conventicle were to be henceforth punished by death and confiscated.’ One cannot be surprised that in view of this and of all that was happening in Scotland there should have been plots for dethroning James. One such was hatched in Holland

while Parliament was sitting. Argyll, Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, Sir John Cochrane of Ochiltree and others, who had sought safety in Holland, determined, with certain friends of the Duke of Monmouth, who were also exiles in the same country, to make a simultaneous attempt on England and Scotland. Argyll, who was in command of the Scottish expedition, sailed from Holland on the 2nd May. He was unfortunate from the first. The plot was known to the Government; his own party was weakened by divided counsels; his movements were anticipated, and in the end each man had to seek safety in flight. Argyll was less fortunate on this occasion, for, captured at Inchinnan near Renfrew, he was taken to Edinburgh and put in irons. No trial was thought necessary, and he met his fate with a courage and dignity equal to that of his father, who had suffered a similar fate only a few years before. Looking at the instrument of execution popularly known as the 'Maiden,' he declared it was 'the sweetest maiden he had ever kissed.'

The summary punishment thus meted out to Argyll was more to be envied than the treatment accorded to many of his less-distinguished countrymen. Two hundred Covenanters, chiefly from the south and west, were imprisoned in Dunnottar castle. It is said that in their journey from Edinburgh through Fife to the place of their imprisonment 'they were treated more like cattle than human beings.' A hundred of them, of both sexes, were incarcerated in a vault of the castle where they had space neither to lie nor to sit. Mire ankle-deep covered the floor, and there was hardly any ventilation. Some relief was afterwards afforded them, chiefly through the intercession of the wife of the governor, and two months afterwards the survivors were taken to Leith. Those who acknowledged allegiance to the king were allowed to return home, but the majority who refused were sent to the plantations.

It now became perfectly clear (1686) that it was the intention of James to change the religion of the country.

He himself was an avowed Roman Catholic, and the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, and certain of the other great officers of State, in order to please the king, and to further their own interests, also professed themselves to be Roman Catholics. The laws against his 'innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion,' he asked Parliament to repeal; but finding no willing response in that quarter, he dispensed with parliamentary government, and ruled by the Privy Council. He also gave instructions that the Chapel Royal of Holyrood should be prepared for Roman Catholic services. Events had now come to a pass which moved the deepest passions of the Scottish people. Many, who were more or less indifferent about the quarrel between Presbyterians and Episcopalians, joined heart and soul in the effort to resist the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church and hierarchy. Hatred of Roman Catholicism was deep both in England and in Scotland. The time was coming, if it had not already come, when its votaries might be tolerated, but to make it the religion of the nation was more than Scottish flesh and blood could stand. James, to a certain extent, appreciated the significance of the storm that he had raised, and he issued three successive Letters of Indulgence, giving liberty of worship to devotees of all creeds except Covenanters. The only tangible result of his policy was the return of the exiled Presbyterian ministers, who did much in the coming struggle to bring the Revolution to a successful issue.

The 'killing time' was fast drawing to a close, and it terminated with the execution of its last and not least notable victim, James Renwick, who was Richard Cameron's successor as leader of the Cameronians. Although it was at the risk of his life, he had still continued to preach in different parts of the country, but at last he was taken. 'In the month of January 1688 he came secretly to Edinburgh where he stayed in a friend's house. The morning after he arrived some officials entered the house. Renwick knew who they

were and presented his pistol at them, but missed his shot. He made his way out of the house, however, and rushed down the street, but he was known to be a fugitive by his bare head, and was immediately surrounded and seized. Some members of the Privy Council would have liked to spare his life, as they were weary of so much bloodshed, and Renwick was so young, being only in his twenty-sixth year. But he would not consent to acknowledge James as his lawful king, and by the law he must suffer death. On the scaffold he sang the 103rd Psalm and read a chapter from the Book of The Revelation, and among his last words he said, "Lord, I die in the faith that thou wilt not leave Scotland."'

The memorable Revolution of 1688 had now begun. The birth of the Prince of Wales on the 30th June of that year startled both England and Scotland into a realisation of the fact that they were now saddled with a Roman Catholic dynasty. But a movement was already on foot, to which this event gave an impetus, for the dethroning of James, and putting William of Orange, who was married to the king's daughter Mary, in his place. On the 18th September news reached Scotland of William's readiness to move in the matter; by the 18th December he was in Whitehall, and on the 23rd of the same month James left England never to return again. The Edinburgh populace, increased by Protestants chiefly from the west who were anticipating the Revolution, attacked the Chapel Royal, speedily overcame the guard, and defaced it of everything pertaining to Popish worship. On Christmas Day began the 'Rabbling of the Curates,' and before the work was completed two hundred of the Episcopal clergy were evicted from their churches and manses. There was no bloodshed, but there was much misery and privation; the season of the year was of itself sufficient to cause much distress. At the request of thirty Scottish nobles and eighty gentlemen, William agreed to summon the Estates. The Convention met on the 14th March 1689. On the 11th April it issued a Declaration in which it made its Claim of Right, and

offered the crown to William and Mary. In the Claim of Right it was maintained that it was the constitutional right of the Estates to dethrone a ruler who had violated the laws of the kingdom. Fifteen charges of such violation were brought against James, the chief being that he ruled without having taken the Coronation Oath, which bound him to defend the Protestant religion. William took this oath, but at the part where he had to swear to be 'careful to root out all heretics,' he paused, and only agreed to it when its nature was explained to him by Argyll, who, with Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie and Sir John Dalrymple as representatives of the peers, barons and burghs respectively, had been commissioned by the Estates to proceed to London for the purpose of offering the crown to William and Mary. The ceremony took place at Whitehall on the 11th of May, and from that date the Stewart kings ceased to reign in Scotland.

A people such as the Scots, who were loyally attached to their princes, could not have brought themselves lightly to dethrone a monarch whose family had reigned over them for three hundred years. But the policy of the four last of the line could have had no other ending. They put themselves in direct opposition to the aspirations of the people, and the time had come when the Divine right of kings, which they cherished, was bound to yield to another Divine right—that of the people. It is quite true that even this last theory of power and government requires to be limited, and the Scots were quite prepared to accept limitations, for while the Revolution declared that the appointment to sovereignty belongs to the people, it also signified that both sovereign and people must act constitutionally, and obey the law. The Divine right of Presbytery, which the Church had set up in opposition to the king, also received a fatal blow by the Revolution; so that the subsequent history of Scotland is seen to flow in a fresh channel, in which the conflicting elements are united and reconciled.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT—WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689-1694—WILLIAM, 1689-1702

THE Revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne is one of the great landmarks in Scottish history. It cannot be compared in importance to the Reformation, but it is significant from the way in which 'it marks a definite and final readjustment in the relations of politics and religion.' The strife which, for almost a century and a half, had existed between Church and State had, during the reigns of the two last Stewart kings, exhausted itself, and the spirit of moderation, which had never been entirely absent, in the end triumphed and brought about a peace which was to endure for another hundred and fifty years. The centre of interest had now begun to change; religion and Church polity were giving place as matters of supreme moment to those secular pursuits which were about to absorb the nation. It was this that gave William his opportunity for procuring a peaceful settlement of the questions in dispute. It was fortunate that he was a man of moderate counsels, and fitted for discharging the heavy task that his new position laid upon him.

William was wise enough to perceive that the party in the country upon which his position mainly depended was the Presbyterian. The Episcopal clergy supported James, and this was a strong factor in determining his policy with regard to the Church. The Presbyterians were not now the compact body which they were during the early Covenanting struggle, and they could not of themselves have set up a national Church, such as they desired. The Cameronians disapproved of the form which the Revolution

was taking, the higher nobility had deserted their old friends of the Covenant, and a further disintegrating element was found in the Highlands, where many of the chiefs were ready for revolt. William's first Parliament met on the 5th of June 1689. Its chief officers were, for the most part, moderate Presbyterians. It was composed, with the exception of the Jacobites, of the same men as formed the Convention which offered the crown to William and Mary. It is now that we find for the first time those divisions, or groups, by which modern parliaments are characterised. There were the Jacobites who desired the restoration of the Stewarts; the Whigs who were jealous of the prerogative; and the Club, so called from its holding meetings in a tavern, where its policy was debated and formed. This last party was led by Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie. Its aim was to safeguard the constitution, and it was through its efforts that the Lords of the Articles were finally abolished.

The first real business of Parliament was the settlement of religion. Episcopacy was abolished on no higher ground than that it was 'contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people,' but Presbytery was not restored. It was not till the next Parliament, which met in the following year (1690), that this was accomplished, chiefly on the advice of Carstares, who had great influence with William. The 'Cardinal,' as he was called, had suffered in the cause of the king. He had experienced the thumbscrew under Charles II., and he subsequently suffered exile in Holland. It was a moderate form of Presbyterianism that was set up. Neither king nor Church was any longer anxious to assert Divine right principles. The provisions of the Acts which restored the Church were as follows. The claim of James VI. and his successors to be 'supreme over all persons, and in all causes ecclesiastical,' was declared to be 'inconsistent with the establishment of Church Government now desired.' All Presbyterian ministers ejected since the 1st of January 1661 were to be restored at once to their respec-

tive parishes. They numbered sixty. The Westminster Confession of Faith was read and ratified as the Creed of the Church, and Presbytery was declared 'to be the polity of the Church which was to be henceforth recognised by the State.' Patronage was annulled, and the right of election vested in congregations. No General Assembly had met since 1653, and the most important Act of the one which was now convened was the appointment of two Commissions, one to act north, and the other south of the Tay. Their duty was to 'restore Church order, and to extrude all ministers who failed to give satisfaction.' In the north, where Episcopacy was strong, the Commission found considerable difficulty in executing its task. Extruded ministers had to undergo much suffering and hardship, but, as contrasted with the policy of previous reigns, no layman was interfered with.

The labours of this second Parliament were made easier by what took place while the first was sitting (1689). Claverhouse, whom James had created Viscount Dundee, was cited to appear and answer for his loyalty. He refused, and raised the standard of revolt. Many Highland chiefs with their clansmen supported him. Major-General Hugh Mackay, who commanded the forces of the Government, engaged Dundee on the evening of 27th July at Killiecrankie. Mackay was defeated, but Dundee fell in the hour of victory. The Cameronians in the first flush of the Revolution desired a regiment to be formed from their numbers to fight against the 'malignants.' Twelve hundred of them were enrolled, and under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel William Cleland, a brave and able soldier, they encountered five thousand Highlanders under Colonel Cannon, shortly after the battle of Killiecrankie, at Dunkeld. It was an unequal contest, but the courage and skill of their commander, who himself fell in the fight, gave the victory to the Cameronians.

The hopes of a settled condition both in the Highlands and Lowlands were made brighter by two subsequent events.

A force of clansmen under General Buchan was dispersed at Cromdale by the Government troops under Sir Thomas Livingstone, and Montgomery, who had been a disturbing factor in Parliament, was discovered in a plot and exiled. General Mackay erected a fort at Inverlochy. He called it Fort William in honour of the king, and although he only took eleven days to construct it, he declared it was strong enough to withstand any attack by the clansmen. Signs of restiveness in the Highlands were, however, very evident. Glengarry, for instance, had fortified his castle so as to make it impregnable except by cannon. Measures accordingly were taken by the Government for bringing the Highland chiefs into allegiance. The agent chosen for carrying out this purpose was the Earl of Breadalbane. His success was only moderate, and the Government, determined on the reduction of the chiefs, issued an order on the 27th August 1691, proclaiming 'the utmost extremity of the law' against all who should not take the oath by the 1st of January 1692. All complied except Alexander Macdonald, the chief of Glencoe, and Glengarry, who was given another chance. Macdonald would seem to have repented at the last moment, and towards the end of December he appeared at Fort William for the purpose of giving in his submission. He was told that he would require to appear before a sheriff, and as the nearest one was at Inveraray, it was not till the 6th of January that he was able to do so. By this time the law had been set in motion, chiefly through Sir John Dalrymple, the Under-Secretary of State, on whose representation William subscribed on the 11th January 'letters of fire and sword,' against those who had not complied with the order. If there was one chief more than another specially detested by Dalrymple it was Macdonald of Glencoe, and the Under-Secretary rejoiced at the opportunity which was now given to him for making Macdonald a terrible example to the rest of the Highlands. A conspiracy was evidently afoot against the chief, for although a certificate of his oath was

forwarded to the Privy Council, that body did not accept it, and William was ignorant of the fact that the oath was taken.

The man employed for committing the crime, which stained the government of William and the character of Dalrymple, was Captain Robert Campbell of Glenlyon, a hereditary foe of the Macdonalds. Dalrymple's instructions were that the blow should be 'secret and sudden.' About the 1st February, Campbell, with a hundred and twenty men, marched into Glencoe, and on presenting his credentials, he and his men were hospitably received and entertained by the chief and his clan. On the 13th of the same month, between four and five o'clock in the morning, they suddenly attacked their unsuspecting hosts, butchered the chief in his bed, and so maltreated his wife that she died a few hours afterwards. Thirty-eight of the Macdonalds were slain, among whom were two children, two women, and an old man of eighty. This legal crime struck horror into the hearts of Scotsmen all over the country. An agitation sprang up against the Government and the perpetrators of the atrocious deed, but it was not till 1695 that a Commission of Enquiry was granted by the king. The results were far from satisfactory, but Dalrymple was disgraced, and Breadalbane was charged with high treason. Campbell had had sufficient time to quit the country.

The sixty ministers, who had been restored to their charges, set themselves with all speed to reconstruct the Church on its old Presbyterian lines, and to fill the vacant pulpits with qualified preachers. But it took some time before the Church settled down, and certain difficulties had to be overcome meanwhile. One of these faced the Assembly which met in January 1692. At it a request was made on the part of William, that all ministers who signed the Confession of Faith should be admitted into the Established Church. The Assembly demurring to this request, the Commissioner closed it without naming a day for its next meeting. The Moderator, however, fixed the

third Wednesday of August 1693 as the day on which it should meet. The ministers did not keep their word, and thus prudently avoided the renewing of those conflicts with the Crown, of which the Church had had so many unfortunate experiences. The king at last gave his sanction for an Assembly to meet in March 1694, at which certain proposals on his part threatened serious trouble.

At a Parliament which met in 1693 an Act was passed enforcing upon the Church the very demand on the part of William which the Assembly of 1692 had refused to accept — that all ministers who signed the Confession should be admitted to the Church. The Assembly thought that by consenting to this request the Church would be flooded with Episcopalian undesirables. The second Act passed by the Parliament was much more serious. The Oath of Allegiance recognised William as King in fact, but it was now enacted that an additional oath, or Assurance, should be taken recognising him as King of right; and the condition, which he attached to the holding of the Assembly which he had now sanctioned, was that no minister should be allowed to sit in it unless he signed the Assurance. In this demand on the part of the king the clergy saw a renewal of the claim of royal supremacy over the Church, and when the Commissioner arrived in Edinburgh to preside at the Assembly, he found that the ministers were determined to resist the king's demand. Matters were in a most critical condition, and it was only by the wise diplomacy of Carstairs that the difficulty was met by William agreeing to give way. The Church could not conceal its satisfaction, and this concession on the part of the king strengthened his position in the country.

The nation was now about to turn aside from Church affairs, and to devote itself to those commercial enterprises which were to absorb its interest in the future. Its first great venture was a dismal failure, and to any other country than Scotland it might have proved a fatal catastrophe. The Darien scheme, like the Massacre of Glencoe, is an

incident in the national history upon which no Scotsman can look back with satisfaction or pleasure. Scottish trade abroad was severely handicapped by English restrictions. Everything that the sister kingdom could devise was done to kill it. And yet the irrepressible Scotsman, in spite of all hindrances, was beginning to push his way, and to lay the foundations of the future foreign trade of his country. Thousands of Scotsmen had been transported, from the time of Cromwell downwards, to America, either as exiles or as slaves, and they speedily adapted themselves to their new environment and proved the best of colonists. Notwithstanding the restriction upon Scottish trade in American dependencies, they succeeded in evading the customs, dislodging and underselling English traders, and achieving so great success, that numerous complaints were lodged against them, and the home Government was urged to use repressive measures. It was customary at that time for European countries to give powers for the establishment of trading companies in different parts of the world. Scotland was now ambitious of possessing similar rights and privileges, and by an Act of Parliament in 1693 such powers were granted.

The man who was the first to take advantage of this Act was John Chiesley, a Scottish merchant in London. In 1695 he broached the subject to William Paterson, a native of Dumfriesshire who had traded with success in the West Indies, and who on his return had suggested various commercial schemes to different countries in Europe. The only one of his proposals that was acted on was the founding of the Bank of England in 1694, Paterson himself being one of the original directors. On the 26th May 1695 the Scottish Parliament passed an 'Act for a company trading to Africa and the Indies.' A charter was granted, regulations were drawn up, and large privileges conceded. This was the fateful Act which launched the disastrous Darien scheme. The capital was fixed at £600,000, half of which was to be subscribed in Scotland. The first meeting of the promoters

was held in London on the 29th August 1695. No one from Scotland put in an appearance, but by the end of October the £300,000 open to English subscribers was taken up. Unexpected opposition of a serious nature at once met the scheme. The subject was raised in the House of Lords on the 22nd November, and immediately every English interest was in arms. Representation was made to the king from the two Houses of Parliament, and William's reply was the dismissal of Tweeddale, under whom as Commissioner the Act authorising the company had been passed. In addition a circular letter was addressed by the English Government to the Crown officials in the plantations, forbidding any assistance being given to the Scottish Company. The consequence of these actions was the withdrawal of all English subscriptions.

Scotland now undertook to raise the necessary capital itself, and the opposition of England only helped to stir its enthusiasm. By the 8th August 1696 the £400,000 at which the capital was now fixed was raised. Asia, America, and Africa being blocked against the company by English opposition, Paterson's suggestion that the Isthmus of Darien should be selected was, in an unfortunate moment, accepted. He regarded it as the natural centre of the world's trade, and on the 17th July 1698, 'amidst the tears, prayers and praises' of the whole city of Edinburgh, the first squadron of three armed vessels and two tenders sailed from Leith. Darien was reached on the 3rd November, but by this time the misfortunes that were to prove fatal to the enterprise had already begun. The councillors had quarrelled and the officers had misbehaved on the voyage. Provisions, too, had become scarce, and, to complete the list of woes, the climate proving unhealthy, a pestilence broke out which cut off on the average twelve a day. The circular letter of the English Government also bore its baneful fruit, for the supplies from the plantations were withheld. The Spaniards, too, who claimed the district, attacked the settlement. Within a year all who composed

the first squadron abandoned the enterprise, only one of the five vessels returning to Scotland ; and very few of the twelve hundred who formed the first contingent ever reached their native shore. Other two expeditions set out, one on May 12, 1699, composed of two ships carrying three hundred settlers, and another of four vessels with thirteen hundred emigrants, both of which met with an almost similar fate. Disease, privation, discordant counsels, and attacks by the Spaniards made the settlement impossible. Not one, for instance, of the four ships that formed the third expedition ever returned to Scotland, and by the time the scheme collapsed, the country had lost two thousand men and two hundred thousand pounds in money.

The indignation of the Scottish people against the English Parliament and William was unbounded, for they rightly laid the catastrophe at their door. The loss to Scotland was serious, for the country was poor, and of the thirteen hundred subscribers many had invested their all. When news reached home of a victory which Captain Alexander Campbell of Finab, who had sailed with a sloop carrying provisions to the settlement, had obtained over the Spaniards, the Edinburgh mob broke open the Tolbooth, freed the prisoners, smashed the windows of houses that were not illuminated, and caused the ringers of the bells of St Giles' to play the tune, 'Wilful Willie wilt thou be wilful still?' It was now becoming clear to statesmen in both countries that the only way by which serious misunderstandings could be averted in the future would be by a union of the two Parliaments.

William's reign was now drawing to a close, but one or two matters of considerable importance marked its last years. An Act of the Scottish Parliament was revived, in 1695, making blasphemy for the third time a capital offence. There had been at this period an outburst of heresy both in England and Scotland, and the revival of this Act was the result. Unfortunately it was acted

upon. A young lad, Thomas Aikenhead, a student in Edinburgh University, had denied the Doctrine of the Trinity. He was condemned to death, and the sentence was carried out. It was the last of the kind recorded in Scotland. In 1695 the Bank of Scotland was founded. In 1696 an Act was passed compelling heritors to establish and support schools in every parish, and in 1701 it was ordained that every accused person could demand a trial within sixty days. On the 20th February 1702 William died. 'Though at his death he was not a popular ruler, the main body of his Scottish subjects gladly recognised that he had fulfilled the chief object for which he had been invited to become their king. He had saved Protestantism, given to the nation a Church which the majority desired, and substituted a constitutional monarchy for a despotism.'

CHAPTER XXXV

SCOTLAND BEFORE THE UNION

WE are now on the eve of a fresh development in Scottish history. The reign that was about to begin marks an important stage in the political, commercial, and social life of the people. It heralds the dawn of a new day, and before tracing the various steps in its progress, and in that of the country as a whole up to comparatively recent times, it may be well to pause for a moment and consider the conditions that prevailed on the eve of the Union. Whatever hopes may have been built by Scotsmen on the accession of James VI. to the throne of England were doomed to disappointment. Scotland profited nothing, at least to begin with, by the union of the crowns. On the contrary it lost a great deal, for its Parliament and Privy Council ceased to be in any way representative, and became mere instruments in the hands of successive Stewart kings. Scotland was governed not by a popular Chamber, but from the king's antechamber in London, and its Parliament was a symbol and nothing more. Hence when the time came for its union with that of England, the sacrifice of independent government on the part of the Scots was more nominal than real.

The condition of the country at the close of the seventeenth century was, taking it all in all, perhaps worse than it had been since the War of Independence. There was much to account for this. The wars of the Covenant, by distracting the people, devastating the country, robbing it of some of its best men, banishing others, and plunging many that remained deep in debt, were disastrous to social prosperity and commercial expansion. Scotland's relations

to England, too, hampered it at every turn. While the northern kingdom had to bear its share in the enterprises of its southern neighbour, supplying men and money for the prosecution of its wars, it received no substantial benefits in return. On the contrary its trade, as can be seen from the Darien scheme, was crippled, and it had neither the population, resources, nor equipment necessary for competing on equal terms either with England or Continental countries. It was in addition hampered by its own methods. The trade of Scotland was still bound by the old feudal and mediæval regulations which had now become obsolete, and it could only be by coming to a working understanding with England, and by breaking away from its own methods, that Scotland had any chance of getting an equal share in the commercial enterprises that were now absorbing the interest of every progressive nation.

The appearance of the country, the condition of the towns, and the life and habits of the people during the seventeenth century, have been described for us in various records and in the pages of the different travellers who during the century visited Scotland. The records of the Scottish burghs can be relied on, but the descriptions of English travellers are not without some natural exaggeration. It would seem that what first struck a stranger was the bareness of the country; there was almost an entire absence of trees. The natural wood had long ago been cut down, and though successive Parliaments encouraged planting, it was only in the policies of the nobles that trees were found. Nor had the towns made any progress during the period under review. The population of the country was about 800,000, of which Edinburgh had 30,000 and Glasgow 12,000. The capital had one long and spacious thoroughfare, the High Street, and the windows of the houses, many of which were seven or eight stories high, were glazed only in the upper half. Glasgow was regarded as first in beauty and attraction of all

Scottish towns. It was in the form of a cross, and its Cathedral and Tolbooth were the finest in the country. The other towns, next in importance, were Leith, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, Ayr, and Inverness. Little improvement had taken place in their sanitary arrangements, and the cry of 'Gardy-loo!' was heard in Edinburgh well on into the next century, when the housewife opened her window, after ten o'clock had struck, and poured the slops and refuse of the day into the street. Many a late wayfarer had cause to remember the experience of a midnight stroll through the streets of the capital. The refuse remained until the following morning, when the scavengers swept it up.

The houses of the peasants and even of the farmers were much the same as they had been in previous centuries. They usually consisted of one room and were mere mud-cabins, without window or chimney, and the only light that penetrated came in by the door. The houses of the nobles and lairds were built more for security than comfort. There were practically no inns, and the roads were execrably bad. The beds of rivers were in dry seasons chosen as highways, and locomotion to distant parts was still on horseback. The coaches of the great might lumber along, drawn by six horses, with a footman on each side to prevent them falling into ruts or over precipices. The people were simply but comfortably dressed, and were accused by strangers of spending more upon their clothes than they could reasonably be expected to afford. The men wore blue bonnets on their heads and plaids on their shoulders. The women wore no head-dress, but covered their heads and shoulders with a plaid, which they drew over their faces if they wished to be unobserved. In the summer-time they went barefooted, as did the children. The food of the people, if not varied, was wholesome. Beer was chiefly drunk, and broth and bannocks of oatmeal were eaten in abundance. English travellers accused the Scots of sluttishness; they

evidently did not as yet associate cleanliness with godliness. The fight against dirt had not begun ; that was left to subsequent centuries.

Agriculture was still the chief employment of the people, but in place of progress there was retrogression. This arose from the fact that the tenant could be evicted at the will of the landlord ; leases, if they existed at all, were short. The farmer had in addition to cultivating his own land, to render service to his landlord, whose chief interest would seem to have been to rack-rent his tenants for his own advantage. The result was that the land became exhausted ; the farmer had no interest in improving it. Knowing that his tenure might be brief, he got out of it all that he could. He would not fence his fields nor grow grass, nor drain his land, nor allow any part of it to lie fallow. The crops were accordingly poor, and the sheep and cattle reared lean—so lean, that their carcasses could not stand salting. Hemp and flax were grown to supply yarn for the linen industry. Barley, wheat, and oats were also produced, but they were coarse and of poor quality. Low-lying land which now bears the richest crops was then in many cases only marshes ; neither laird nor tenant had the skill or means for draining it. Hence it was that visitors to Scotland were astonished to find the hillsides cultivated and the low-lying ground bare.

Trade was in as unfortunate a condition as agriculture. The towns had lost the freedom which they once possessed of choosing their own magistrates, who were now the nominees of the Crown. The unnatural distinction between the freemen and unfreemen still existed, and trade jealousies hampered individual effort. Merchants and craftsmen still continued to quarrel, and the conditions that existed in the Middle Ages dominated Scottish trade and industry. Peasants coming into the burgh with their produce had to pay dues, and the freemen had first to be served before the rest of the community could make their purchases. The price of food and the wages of craftsmen

were still fixed by the authorities. Altogether the system then in force was behind the times, and only through its abolition could there be any hope of commercial progress. Trade with foreign countries was also interfered with by conditions which prevailed at home and restrictions that existed abroad. Royal burghs, for instance, were the only ones that could barter with foreign countries, and the burghs of barony and regality, finding themselves unjustly punished by such a preference, were now beginning to cry loudly for reform. Holland, Denmark, Norway, and France were the countries that did the largest trade with Scotland; but here again old methods were hampering fresh enterprises. In the case of Holland, for instance, where Campvere was the staple port, the conditions which governed the exchange of goods between it and Scotland were of so narrow a kind, that sooner or later, it was being seen, they must be swept away if advance was to be made possible. Of the seven Scottish seaports Leith and Glasgow were the most important, and the chief exports were salt, coal, plaiding, and salmon.

The Convention of Royal Burghs, originating in the twelfth century in the Court of the Four Burghs, busied itself in attempts to make the trade of the country more prosperous. It settled disputes between rival burghs and gave encouragement to others; but as time advanced it became a source of weakness instead of strength, for it fell under the influence of the Government and Privy Council, which exploited the towns for their own advantage. It was about this period that committees and societies were created for advancing the trade of the country. It was found that individual effort in existing circumstances stood in need of help, and so companies were formed, of which that of Darien was the most notorious example, for starting new industries and developing old ones. Opposition was met with at first by those who were anxious to introduce fresh methods, but after a time prejudices and jealousies were overcome, and it was in the seventeenth century that

we see the beginnings of many industries and manufactures which have now attained to great dimensions, and have made the wealth and commercial reputation of Scotland.

So early as 1588 Flemish weavers, dyers, and fullers were encouraged to settle in Scotland, and in the succeeding century we see new methods, adopted from other countries, applied to tanning, and to the manufacture of different kinds of cloth. The first beginnings were also then made in glass-making, the manufacture of soap, the production of porcelain and earthenware, the tobacco trade, spinning, and sugar-refining. The lead industry was prosecuted in the Lowthers, harbours were enlarged, and the foundation of a banking system was laid. The currency was still in a wretched condition, and made free exchange of goods both at home and abroad extremely difficult. Owing to the large number of foreign coins in circulation, the true value of any commodity could seldom be obtained.

Ecclesiastical matters, which formed so important a part of the interests of the nation during the century, were towards its close settling down into that position which they have ever since held. If the scheme which William had conceived for the settlement of the Church had been carried out in its entirety, it is possible that the Episcopalians might have been embraced in the organisation then set up. In that case there would have been practically no division among the Protestants of Scotland. But his ideal was not attained, and divisions then took place which, with fresh additions, have continued until the present day. All the same a spirit of moderation began to prevail, and the party which favoured it was soon to be in the ascendant, and to govern the Church of Scotland for more than a hundred years. Ministers and kirk-sessions still busied themselves in trying to improve the moral habits of the people, and such offences as drunkenness, swearing, slander-ing, impurity, and non-church-going were punished by public and private reprimands, by the pillory, the stool, and excommunication. That verse in Scripture which

says, 'Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live,' was still accepted in its absolute literalness, and poor demented creatures continued to be put to death for what was held to be witchcraft. The last death took place in 1727.

The condition of the country during the seventeenth century was not conducive to literary production. Contemporary Scotland could boast of no Milton or Dryden. Its most outstanding name in poetry is that of William Drummond of Hawthornden, the friend of Ben Jonson. The great Marquis of Montrose is also accorded a niche in the chapel, for it can hardly be called temple, of seventeenth-century poetry in Scotland. He is chiefly remembered by the lyric, 'My dear and only Love, I pray,' of which the most familiar lines are the quatrain :

'He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
Who dare not put it to the touch,
To win or lose it all.'

Among prose writers the first place in time if not in quality must be given to Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, whose version of the first two books of Rabelais is indubitably one of the great translations of the world. The three Forbeses of Aberdeen, who were the heads of the great school of theologians known as the 'Aberdeen Doctors,' Patrick, William, and John, occupied the leading place among the scholars and controversialists of the day. They favoured a moderate Episcopacy. So did Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, whose *Exposition of the Creed* and other works breathe the spirit of sweet reasonableness. In the opposite school was Samuel Rutherford, famous in his day as the author of *Lex Rex*, and since then for his *Letters*. The period produced two great Church historians, John Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, and David Calderwood, minister at Crailing; the former an Episcopalian, the latter a Presbyterian. Each wrote a *History of the Church of Scotland*, from his own point of view. The *Letters and Journals* of Robert Baillie, minister

at Kilwinning, and afterwards Principal of Glasgow University, Gilbert Burnet's *History of My Own Time*, and Robert Wodrow's *Correspondence*, and *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution*, are among the most interesting and valuable of Scottish memoirs. In them the very spirit of the time is embodied. The first great work on Scottish law was produced during this period : *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, by Lord Stair. No special development took place in the higher Scottish education from the time when James VI. founded the University of Edinburgh (1582), but knowledge among the people was being steadily and increasingly diffused by the establishment of schools in many of the parishes ; and the general intelligence of the peasantry is borne witness to by Burnet, who formed one of a Commission to visit various districts in the interests of the Church, when he says, ' We were indeed amazed to see a poor community so capable to argue on points of government, and on the bounds to be set on the power of princes in matters of religion ; on all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread among even the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants.'

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE UNION—ANNE, 1702-1714

WILLIAM'S successor was Anne, daughter of James VII. and sister of Mary. She was therefore a Stewart, a fact which gave satisfaction to the Scottish people, who had still more than a mere sentimental attachment to the old reigning house. A Parliament was held (1702) shortly after the queen's accession, and its members were gratified that Anne, unlike her father, took the Coronation Oath. The dead man's hand still governed the nation, for the queen's first act was to recommend William's dying bequest to the favourable consideration of Parliament, and to impress upon it the desirability of an incorporating union with that of England. An Act, accordingly, was passed, and Commissioners on Union were appointed. An event now took place which, in the end, had more to do with bringing about the union of the two Parliaments than any direct action on the part of their members. This was a proclamation by Britain of war against France (4th May 1702). William had left a legacy of jealousy and even of hostility against Scotland's 'auld ally,' which was now about to develop into a serious conflict. The War of the Spanish Succession, which was to last for twelve years, had begun, and one of the most important of Britain's reasons for engaging in it was Louis XIV.'s recognition of the son of James VII. This war speedily revealed the cleavage that existed, and which was daily becoming dangerously wider, between Scotland and England. While the smaller country had to supply men for, and bear a share of the expenses of, the war, it had no voice in its declaration or management. Besides, it might at any moment, if unfriendly, sympathise

and even take part with France. English statesmen, accordingly, were now perceiving that the sooner a union took place between the two Parliaments, the better for both countries.

There were two chief parties in Scottish politics at this time : the Whigs, who favoured the Revolution, and the Tories, who were opposed to it. Queensberry was the leader of the first, and Hamilton of the second. Neither of these two men was of the first rank ; indeed, the Revolution, like the Covenanteeing period, did not bring to the front a really great man. But the two protagonists, if they may be so called, were men of talent and address, and along with others, who will be referred to as they appear in the course of the narrative, took a leading part in the debates and negotiations that brought the Union to a successful issue. Queensberry is described as slight in build, dark in complexion, an adept in handling men, suave and insinuating in manner, with an air of indifference which disarmed opponents and misled the unwary. Hamilton combined in his character the qualities of the two houses from which he sprang. His father was a Douglas, and, like his race, he was bold and even violent in disposition and conduct. His mother was a Hamilton, and he inherited the indecision and shiftiness of that house. The possibility of succeeding to the crown, which always haunted the Hamiltons, ever and again interfered with that steadfastness of purpose which is necessary for leadership and for winning the confidence of followers. An attempt was made, headed by Hamilton, to have this Parliament declared illegal, seeing it had not been elected after the accession of the new monarch, and was practically composed of the men who formed the Convention of 1689. This movement was defeated, and the Parliament continued to sit until the 30th of June, taking the first important step before its close towards union, by appointing commissioners to negotiate terms of an 'international settlement.' The representatives of both Parliaments

appointed for this purpose did meet in the Cock-pit of Whitehall, but as the time was not ripe, no definite result followed their conference.

A general election now took place (1703). While the issues involved were momentous, not the least important feature about the Parliament that resulted was the fact that it was the last that was to sit in Scotland. It is true that the people, as a whole, were not represented by it; the elective body was extremely limited, but still it was a vast improvement on the Parliaments that used to sit prior to the Revolution. The Lords of the Articles had been abolished, the Privy Council was soon to come to an end, and while Court and English influence was still active, it was a more independent body and more expressive of the national will than Scotland had so far been accustomed to. Queensberry was Commissioner in this Parliament as he had been in the last, and the Earl of Seafield was Chancellor. Seafield is held to have been, along with Queensberry, the main factor in bringing about the Union. He was a trained lawyer, a man of the world, handsome in appearance, with a gracious and a smiling presence—qualities which stood him in good stead in managing the conflicting forces that were soon to declare themselves. Parliament met on the 6th of May, and proved itself to be thoroughly national. It was composed of three parties: the Court party, which supported the Government, with Queensberry as its leader; the Country party, which was patriotic, with the uncertain Hamilton at its head; and the Jacobites, who were unfriendly to the Revolution, and whose most characteristic member, if not leader, was Lockhart of Carnwath. It passed three important Acts: one for securing the true Protestant religion and Presbyterian government, another for allowing the importation of all foreign wines and liquors, and a third, an 'Act anent Peace and War,' which enjoined that 'no successor of the reigning sovereign should declare a war involving Scotland without consulting her representatives.' All these Acts were so many challenges

thrown in the face of England ; but the most important of all was the famous Act of Security, to the effect that ' the Estates, twenty days after the death of the reigning sovereign without issue, were to name her successor, who should at once be a Protestant and a descendant of the House of Stewart ' ; and to enforce this Act, heritors and burghs were ordered to provide able-bodied men with arms. This was practically a declaration of war against England, for the English Act of Settlement, which named the Electress Sophia as the next heir to the throne, absolutely ignored Scotland. This was Scotland's reply. What Queensberry wanted was the granting of Supply, for the soldiers were clamouring for their pay, and the Exchequer was empty ; but Parliament would not grant Supply until the Act of Security was passed. English statesmen were now more than ever brought face to face with the fact that union or war with Scotland were the alternatives.

The new session of the Estates met in July 1704. Queensberry, who had got involved in a plot which Simon Fraser, afterwards the notorious Lord Lovat, had concocted rather than revealed, was supplanted as Commissioner by Tweeddale who, according to a contemporary, was the ' least ill-meaning man of the party.' Supply was still the chief demand, but the Act of Security blocked the way. The English ministers, with the French war on their hands, fearing that Scotland's hostility might complicate matters, advised Tweeddale to give way. The Act of Security was accordingly passed, and Supply was then granted. Scotland's attitude and action gave her importance in the eyes of England and Continental countries—she was to be no longer a mere dependent on her southern neighbour—and England, recognising what the famous Act meant, replied in equally significant terms in the Aliens Act, holding out, however, at the same time the olive branch by empowering the queen to appoint commissioners to negotiate a union. The man by whose influence the Act of Security was passed was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, who took a leading part

in the deliberations and debates on the Union. He was an idealist in religion and in politics. While unable to make his views prevail, he was respected and even admired for his honesty and singleness of purpose. He was a professed republican; if the country would have a monarchy, he held that it should be one in which the Crown must be subject to the will of the people. The king, he declared, was the guardian and not the maker of the laws. If, again, the country would have a Church, it ought to be one without dogma. Fletcher was unquestionably greatly ahead of his day, and even the present age has not caught up to the views which he so strenuously and consistently advocated.

The bitter spirit that existed between the two countries was strikingly illustrated by an incident which occurred at this very time. A Scottish vessel named the *Annandale*, belonging to the African Company, was seized in the Thames, and the English Government, on being appealed to, would grant no redress. It happened that there shortly afterwards arrived in the Forth the *Worcester*, an English ship, commanded by Captain Green, and at the instance of the African Company she was seized, and her captain and crew brought to trial for piracy. The charge was that the *Worcester* had piratically captured the *Speedy Return*, one of the Darien fleet, under Captain Drummond. The High Court of Admiralty at the trial, which began on 5th March 1705 and lasted for a week, found Green and his crew to the number of fourteen guilty, and all of them were condemned to death. Intervention took place on behalf of the men, but only with partial success. The captain and two of his officers were hanged. It afterwards became clear that, whatever piracies Green may have committed, he was innocent of having caused the destruction of the *Speedy Return*. The Scots in this instance, carried away by their jealousy and hatred of England, had acted without due reflection.

The third session of the Estates began on the 28th of

June 1705; it had a new Commissioner in the person of the Duke of Argyll. Tweeddale had fallen out of favour through the Green episode, as Queensberry had through the Scots Plot. The latter, however, was made Privy Seal, with Seafield as Chancellor. These three men are held to have been the mainspring of the Union. Argyll was young for so responsible a position, but he was able and eloquent. He was head of the Presbyterian party, and it was important to have its support. As the sequel showed, he filled his high position with rare distinction and success. The old political parties once more faced each other, with the addition of a new one, the 'Squadrone Volante,' so called from its aloofness. It had as its chiefs Tweeddale, Rothes, and Roxburgh. It veered from one side to another, but it was on the whole favourable to union, and it was eventually by its support the Treaty was passed. The chief business before this session was the appointment of a Commission to negotiate union, and when the 'Act for a treaty with England' was passed, Argyll could congratulate himself that his task was successfully accomplished, and felt justified in bringing the meeting to a close.

Both Houses of the English Parliament had a Whig majority, and were therefore favourable to union. The queen appointed the two Commissions; each had thirty-one members. The Scottish commissioners were carefully chosen, and with the exception of one were all favourable to union. The two Commissions, which met on the 16th April 1706 in the council-chamber at Whitehall, began at once with earnestness to discharge their task. Their meetings were conducted in a thoroughly businesslike fashion. All their proceedings were kept secret, and in proof of their sincerity and determination no interchange of hospitality took place between the members. The English commissioners at once stated what, in their view, were the foundations on which union should be based. They were three in number. The two kingdoms were to be united under the name of Great Britain; the kingdoms thus

united were to be represented by one Parliament; and the succession to the throne was to devolve on the House of Hanover. The Scots were not prepared for an incorporating, but only for a federal union; they wished to maintain their Parliament, and with it the independence of their country. But as the English were insistent, the Scots yielded. The question of trade was an important one. The Scots insisted upon free trade all round, which was accepted. With regard to taxation, the coinage and weights and measures were to be the same in both countries, and also the duties on exports and imports. From certain duties Scotland was, however, to be free. The Scottish legal system was to be retained subject to the control of Parliament, and a Court of Exchequer was to be set up. To recompense Scotland for financial losses and to lighten the new burden of taxation, especially its share of the English national debt, a grant of about £400,000 was to be made by England. The Equivalent, as this sum was called, was for the purpose of paying certain official debts, chiefly in the form of salaries, and to make up the capital with interest of the money lost in the Darien scheme. The balance, if any, was to be set aside for encouraging fisheries and manufactures. The number of Scottish representatives in the House of Commons was to be forty-five, in the House of Lords sixteen. The arms of the two nations were to be conjoined on 'all flags, banners, standards and ensigns, both at sea and land.' The commissioners concluded their deliberations on the 23rd of July, and the queen, in order to recognise the importance of the agreements which they had come to, and which were embodied in twenty-five Articles, formally received the commissioners in the presence of her court and all the foreign ambassadors, and graciously congratulated them on the successful accomplishment of their task.

The Estates met on the 3rd October 1706, and never again was seen the imposing ceremony of the Riding of the Scottish Parliament. 'From Holyrood to the

Parliament House the street was cleared of its traffic and a way railed off and lined with soldiers by which the procession should pass. The towering houses and fore-stairs on either side were hung with tapestry and crowded with spectators. All the members rode on horse-back, two a-breast. First came the burgesses with their horses decked in trappings of black velvet. Then the barons in scarlet mantles, each with a number of servants according to the rank, rising to eight for a Duke. These wore above their liveries the coats of arms of their masters on velvet cloaks. In the most conspicuous part of the procession were carried the treasured "Honours"—the crown, the sceptre and sword of State—their bearers alone riding with uncovered heads attended by the heralds. The Commissioner with a numerous train brought up the rear. In the Parliament House special benches at the upper end near the throne were reserved for the nobility, while the burgesses had their seats lower down.'

Queensberry was again Royal Commissioner, Mar, Secretary, and Seafield, Chancellor. It was uncertain how the terms of agreement would be accepted by Parliament, but the fate of the Treaty, it was felt, depended upon the attitude and action of the Established Church. No mention was made in the Articles of the Settlement of Religion, and the clergy were afraid that in a Parliament chiefly composed of Anglicans, the position of their Church would be extremely unsafe. The younger ministers were loud in their opposition to an incorporating union, but by the prudence and skill of Carstares an arrangement was arrived at which at once secured the support of the leading clergy, and rendered the Settlement of the Church as secure as words could make it. The position of parties was much the same as in the last session, but in the debates, which were heated and protracted, one man who had not previously taken an undue share now stood forth as probably the ablest of all the members. This was Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, still under the shadow of Glencoe. In popular

estimation he was the 'Curse of Scotland,' but in the opinion of Defoe, who was sent north by the English Government to give his journalistic support to the Union, he was the 'man of greatest counsel in the Kingdom.' While Fletcher and Belhaven may have been the most eloquent speakers, Dalrymple was the man of greatest weight.

While the way in which the Articles of Union might be regarded by the different parties in Parliament was in doubt, there was no dubiety about the attitude of the populace towards the Treaty as a whole. The Edinburgh mob beset Parliament House on the 23rd October, and had an entrance been obtained there might have been bloodshed. The hatred of the rabble, if not of the people, to the proposed Union was manifested subsequently in Glasgow by conduct which bordered on civil war. Indeed, so dangerous was the attitude of the mob in Edinburgh that the Lord Provost, at the command of the Commissioner, ordered a battalion of the Royal Guards to enter the city for the purpose of maintaining order. It was, as Mar declared, in daily terror of their lives that the members of Parliament deliberated on and debated the momentous question which was agitating the whole of Scotland. The chief fight took place when the first Article came to be voted on. This was the one on the union of the two kingdoms. The leaders in the fight were Seton of Pitmedden and Lord Belhaven. Seton supported the Article, Belhaven opposed it. There could not be a greater contrast between two speeches, both in matter and in manner, than between the two then delivered. Seton's was solid and logical, delivered in a cool and calm manner, while Belhaven's was florid and rhetorical. His lordship has been described as 'a rough, fat, black, noisy man, more like a butcher than a lord.' He tore his passion to tatters, and all the pent-up eloquence of his nature now broke forth. He pleaded for united action against a conquering enemy. 'Hannibal,' he said, 'is at our gates. Hannibal is come the

length of this table—he is at the foot of this throne. If we take not notice, he'll seize upon these regalia, he'll whip us out of this house never to return again. I think I see,' he continued, 'our ancient mother Caledonia like Cæsar sitting in the midst of our Senate, ruefully looking round about her, covering herself with a royal garment and breathing out her last with an *Et tu mi fili.*' On the 4th November the vote was taken, when the Article was carried by a majority of thirty-three. The Government had equal success with the second and third Articles, which were carried with the help of the Squadrone on the 15th and 18th of November; and as these three Articles formed the bedrock, so to speak, of the Union, a hope could now be reasonably entertained that the proposed Treaty would, as a whole, be approved of.

One of the most important Acts of this Parliament was the one which it carried on the 12th November. The subject did not come within the scope of the Treaty, but it was of such great importance as to call for independent and special treatment. This was the famous Act of Security for the maintenance of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. It was inserted in the Act ratifying the Union, and it provided that each British sovereign should immediately on his accession, and before his coronation, take an oath to 'maintain the government, the worship, the discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland.' The signing of this oath is the first official act of the sovereign, and on it depends his claim to the allegiance of Scotsmen. The passing of this Act gave much satisfaction to the leaders of the Church, who were now prepared to give their support to the Government in its effort to carry the remaining Articles of the Treaty.

A determined agitation against the Union now arose, chiefly in the west and south. Petitions began to flow in. The objectors declared that the national independence, that 'most noble monument of antiquity,' was to be bartered 'for some hogsheads of sugar, indigo, and stinking

tobacco of the plantation trade.' Queensberry was cursed and reviled to his face as he drove to Holyrood under the protection of the Guards, and Hamilton was cheered as he passed in his sedan-chair. The Cameronians entered into an unholy alliance with the Jacobites, and to the number of 7000 threatened to march on Edinburgh and clear the Parliament House. But Hamilton at the last moment refused to give the word. Barons, freeholders, and many others were prepared to assemble and to petition against the Union, but Hamilton once more failed them at the last moment. When the twenty-second Article, which fixed the number of the Scottish representatives, was reached, the Opposition were to make a protest and leave the House, but Hamilton, who was to lead, again refused to take action. The Articles were at length passed, and on the 16th of January 1707 the Royal Commissioner touched the Act of ratification of the Treaty of Union with the royal sceptre, and at the same time the Act for the Security of the Church. Charges of bribery and corruption were brought in their own day, and have since been repeated, against the nobility by whose support, chiefly, the Articles were passed. It cannot be said that these charges have been proved. It may be true that certain sums were disbursed for the purpose of securing for the Union the influence of important persons, but that the Union itself was carried by such disbursements will not bear investigation. The majority of the Estates were undoubtedly convinced that the Union of the two Parliaments was in the interests of Scotland, and it was the love of their country and not of money that induced them to give the proposal their support. The English Parliament accepted the Treaty without change; they passed it as it had come to them from the Estates. On the 6th March 1707 the Royal Assent was given to the ratifying Act on the part of England, and on the 19th the Scottish Estates received the Act thus 'exemplified' and ordered it to be recorded. As the Chancellor Seafield returned it to the Clerk he is said to

have exclaimed, in the face of Parliament, 'Now there's ane end, of ane auld sang.'

The Union, which in the end proved so great a blessing to both countries, was to begin with a grievous disappointment to Scotland. Popular feeling was strong against it, and as an indication of this the tune which the bells of St Giles' played on the 1st May 1707, the day on which the Treaty came into force, was 'Why should I be sad on my wedding day.' The outlook was gloomy, and friction and misunderstandings took place which threatened, before the reign came to an end, to undo the Union, upon which so many hopes had been placed. The English revenue officers who came to collect the taxes gave strong offence. The delay in the distribution of the Equivalent was an additional grievance, and the disputes of traders in both countries threatened a final rupture. The first Parliament of the United Kingdom met on the 23rd October 1707 and passed three Acts, the first two of which were displeasing to Scotland. These were the abolition of the Privy Council, the setting up of Justices of the Peace, and the establishment of the Court of Exchequer in Edinburgh. So unsettled was the state of the country that Louis XIV. thought it was a fitting time for invading Scotland. He believed that there would be a popular rising in favour of the young Prince of Wales, and that with the support of the Highlanders and the Whigs of the west, England might be reduced. Besides, he hoped that such action as he was contemplating would withdraw the English from his own country, where they were still fighting in the wars of the Spanish Succession.

Accordingly, on the 17th March 1708, five ships of the line, twenty-one frigates and two transports, carrying altogether a force of 6000 men, sailed from Dunkirk under the command of Admiral Forbin, who had aboard his ship the Chevalier de St George. They reached the Firth of Forth on the 23rd of March, but on the morning of the following day the English fleet under Admiral Byng, who

had been watching the movements of the French vessels, also appeared at the mouth of the Firth. Forbin, who knew himself to be overmatched, determined to sail back to France, and this he succeeded in doing with the loss of only one vessel. It was felt that a kindly Providence had intervened and saved Britain from disaster. Certain noblemen, who were suspected of collusion with the French, were lodged in prison, taken to London and then liberated. A new Parliament, the first elected since the Union, met in November 1708. It abolished the Scottish law of treason. This piece of legislation was strongly opposed by the Scottish members, who declared that it was in the teeth of the Treaty of Union. Their own law of treason, they contended, was better than the English one that was now to take its place. One good thing, however, was effected : the application of torture was abolished. Thus among almost all classes dissatisfaction was spreading. The Scottish people were being convinced that England was subjecting them to a new tyranny.

It was the Whigs who had carried the Treaty of Union, and as a proof of the disfavour in which their work was now held in both countries, the new election which took place in 1710 resulted in a Tory majority. Scotland voted strongly against the Whigs, and its sixteen representative peers were all Tories, while by the creation (1711) of twelve Tory peers the Government secured a majority in the House of Lords. Had Scotsmen foreseen the legislative results of this new Parliament they might have hesitated before giving their votes. One of its first actions gave considerable alarm to the Church. An English clergyman named James Greenshields, who had settled in Edinburgh in 1709, had gathered round him a number of compatriots who had come north in connection with the Union. He was an Episcopalian, and used the Anglican liturgy in his services. The clergy of the National Church regarded this as contrary to both ecclesiastical and civil law, and the magistrates of Edinburgh at their request commanded Greenshields to

desist. On his refusing they locked him up in the Tolbooth. He appealed to the Court of Session, which twice confirmed the order of the magistrates. He then appealed to the House of Lords, and that body on the 1st of March 1710 reversed the decision of the Court of Session. Following upon this came the Act of Toleration (1712), passed in the interest of Scottish Episcopalians. But as one of its clauses contained the oath of allegiance and of abjuration, requiring the reigning sovereign to be an Episcopalian, one can feel no surprise, even at this time of day, at the dissatisfaction and distrust of the Church. The legislation thus passed put a strain upon the consciences of ministers to which many were loath to submit, and they also saw in it an attack on the spiritual independence of the Church. But the most unfortunate and uncalled for Act of this Parliament was the one passed on the 7th April 1712 restoring lay patronage, which had been abolished since 1690. Political motives were at the back of it, and the clergy could well protest against it on the ground that it was a breach of the Act of Security. The restoring of lay patronage was fraught with troubles to come. A blow was also struck at the nobility by the decision that no Scottish peer could sit in the House of Lords in virtue of his English title. Trade, too, which had suffered great depression since the Union, was further crippled by fresh taxation, the malt tax in particular being strongly resisted by the Scottish members, and supplying the excuse for a resolution on their part to unite in order to dissolve the Union. It was Seafield, the man that had been mainly instrumental in passing the Treaty, who moved in the House of Lords its abolition. Fifty-four voted on either side. The motion was defeated by the proxies, for while there were thirteen for it there were seventeen against it. England was as dissatisfied as Scotland. Had the Union been dissolved greater troubles might have followed, for it was believed that civil war would have been the result. But with the death of Anne on the 1st August 1714, the interests of the nation were fortunately directed into other channels.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE 'FIFTEEN

GEORGE I., 1714-1727—GEORGE II., 1727-1760

THE death of Anne anticipated by six weeks, it has been affirmed, the full fruition of a plot, in which certain of the leading members of the ministry were deeply involved, for the restoration of the Stewart line. Every means had been taken for a successful issue, but the death of the queen upset all their calculations. It is very doubtful, all the same, whether, even though she had lived until the scheme was fully developed, the expectations of the plotters would have been realised. For the son of James VII. was a Roman Catholic, and whatever the sentiment, sympathy, and even convictions of the people might have been, this in itself would in the end have destroyed its chances. It was the dread of Popery that sent his father into banishment, and the same fear would have prevented him from gaining, or at all events from keeping, the throne.

George I., son of Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and granddaughter of James VI., was proclaimed king in Edinburgh on the 5th of August 1714, four days after the death of his predecessor. The Proclamation was received with enthusiasm in the capital and in many parts of the country. The Duchess of Argyll gave on the following night a ball at Holyrood in honour of the occasion, and every one seemed delighted, except the Jacobites, who could not conceal their disappointment. They fostered discontent in certain parts of the Lowlands, but chiefly in the Highlands, and the Government being considerably alarmed at signs of rebellion put repressive measures into force. The General Election, which took place in February of the

following year, showed, beyond doubt, that the country was strongly Hanoverian. Scotland returned an overwhelming majority in support of the Government, which was Whig, and Parliament having in its second year passed the famous Septennial Act, the ministry was assured of a lengthened existence. The signs of discontent which disturbed the Government soon found expression in actual rebellion. The man who headed the revolt that is known in Scottish history as 'The 'Fifteen' was John, Earl of Mar, who from the shiftiness of his political character was nicknamed 'Bobbing John.' On the 2nd of August he sailed from London in a coal sloop, disguised as a workman. After eight days he reached Scotland, landing in Fife. He had been playing a double game for some time, and having lost his Secretaryship and his post as Hereditary Custodian of Stirling Castle, he threw in his lot with the Pretender.

Mar speedily found himself in his own country, and on the 26th of August he gathered the chiefs round him at a hunting party which took place at Aboyne. The response to his summons was so promising as to justify him in raising the standard for James VIII. The Government at once passed what is known as the Clan Act, which forfeited the estates of every Crown vassal in treasonable correspondence with the Pretender. On the 6th September Mar raised his standard at Castleton in Braemar, and formally proclaimed James III. and VIII. King of Great Britain and Ireland. The fiery cross was sent through the Highlands, letters were written to leading Jacobites, declarations were published, and promises made to the country of better government and of handsome pay to the men who would rally round the standard. By the middle of September Mar began his march south, meeting with unexpected success on the way, and on the 28th of the same month he occupied Perth. An effort was made to capture Edinburgh castle which just failed of success, the rope-ladder by which the walls were to be scaled proving too short. In the castle was £60,000 of the Equivalent, and had this been seized along with the

stronghold itself, the position of the rebels would have been formidable. The death of Louis XIV. was a serious blow to the hopes of the Jacobites. He was the best friend the Chevalier ever had, and the Regent Orleans, who succeeded him as the head of the State, found it to be to the interests of France to be on friendly terms with the British Government. Neither the men nor the arms which were expected from France were now allowed to leave it.

The Government appointed the Duke of Argyll Commander-in-chief. He had seen service in Flanders under Marlborough and was regarded as the third best British general. He took up his quarters at Stirling on 17th of September and could count on a force of 4000 men. Mar still delayed in Perth, where he had under his command some 12,000 men, giving as a reason for his inaction the fear lest the Earl of Sutherland, who was in the north with a considerable following, might attack his rear. He ought to have marched south at the earliest moment, but the fate of Montrose may have warned him. All the same, there cannot have been any real enthusiasm in the rebel ranks, otherwise the invasion of the southern counties would have been attempted much sooner. Mar, however, dispatched Mackintosh of Borlum at the head of 2500 men to effect a crossing of the Forth at a point where it is fifteen miles broad. This Mackintosh cleverly and successfully accomplished. His instructions were to join the rebels who had risen on the Borders, and then march on Glasgow ; but hearing that Edinburgh was undefended, he thought an attack on the capital was better generalship. Argyll, however, anticipated him, and Mackintosh beat a retreat, marched into England, joined the Jacobites who had risen under the Earl of Derwentwater, and headed south until he came to Preston, where he was surrounded by a Government force. After two days' fighting, in which Mackintosh and Lord Charles Murray greatly distinguished themselves, the English contingent declared for an unconditional

surrender. Seven lords and 1500 officers and men were captured.

On the 13th November, the day before the catastrophe at Preston, the battle of Sheriffmuir was fought. Mar had at length determined to march south and cross the Forth at Aberfoyle. Argyll set out to intercept him, and both armies—Mar's vastly superior in numbers—met and faced each other at Sheriffmuir, about two-and-a-half miles from Dunblane. Argyll's left wing was defeated, but his right wing, which he himself commanded, was victorious. Both sides claimed the victory, but on the following morning no sign of Mar's army could be seen. Mar lost some 800 men, Argyll about 600, but the reverse to the Jacobites was so serious as to dishearten them and put an end to the rebellion. Simon, Lord Lovat, had, on the same day as the battle of Sheriffmuir, taken Inverness, and this rendered the position of Mar and his followers more hopeless still. The Chevalier landed on the east coast on 22nd November; he came too late. But even though he had come earlier it is doubtful if he would have done any good. His presence gave no inspiration. At Perth, which he reached on the 9th January 1716, his silence was so marked as to provoke the men to ask if he could speak. On the 30th January Perth was evacuated by the rebel host, and the villages south of it, such as Crieff, Muthill, and Auchterarder, were burnt to the ground to make Argyll's march on the town, which he reached on the following day, as difficult as possible. On the 4th of February the Chevalier with Mar and certain others of the nobles sailed from Montrose for France, unknown to the army; their followers then set out for Ruthven in Badenoch, where they separated, 'every man taking the road that pleased him best.' So ended 'The 'Fifteen.'

The rebels who were captured in England were much more severely punished than those who were taken in Scotland. Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed, and a similar fate awaited Nithsdale and Wintoun, but they

fortunately made their escape, as did also Mackintosh of Borlum and Mr. Foster, who had taken a leading part in the English rebellion. The Government would have acted similarly in the case of the Scottish rebels, but the country was strongly against any such policy. No jury would condemn them, nor could the law officers even be induced to prosecute them. It was accordingly decided that the trial should take place on English soil, and a batch of thirty-nine prisoners were taken to Carlisle on the 3rd of September. Scotland was in arms at this fresh breach of the Treaty of Union; general sympathy was evoked, and subscriptions for the defence of the prisoners were freely contributed by all classes. Even the 'Goodman' (hangman) of the Edinburgh Tolbooth sent his mite. The trial, it was freely admitted by the strongest opponents of the Government, was fairly conducted, but no capital sentence passed was carried out. A Commission was appointed to deal with forfeited estates. Popular sympathy again was strongly against this course being taken. The warnings of the chief legal advisers of the Government were unheeded, but their anticipations of the result were amply fulfilled, for the expenses of the Commission were so heavy, and the sums realised were comparatively so small, that the net gain in cash to the Government was only a little over a £1000. On the 15th July 1717 an Act of Grace and Free Pardon was passed, by which Jacobite prisoners were given liberty to settle at home or abroad; one exception, however, was made, the unfortunate clan Gregor.

The Jacobite cause had the following year (1718) reached its lowest ebb both in France and Scotland, but a diversion in favour of the Chevalier took place from an unexpected quarter. Cardinal Alberoni, an Italian, was the ruling spirit in Spain, and, offended at his plans to aid his own country by means of Spain being thwarted by Great Britain, he determined on invading England in the interests of the Pretender. Charles XII. of Sweden agreed to join him, but that monarch having been killed in battle, Alberoni

determined on the adventure single-handed. On the 7th March 1719 a Spanish fleet of twenty-nine vessels with 5000 troops and 30,000 arms on board sailed from Cadiz. A fate similar to that which befell the Armada awaited the squadron. A great storm shattered the fleet and rendered the expedition impossible. Two frigates, however, with 307 men on board had been dispatched under Earl Marischal Keith to the Highlands. Lewis was reached in the beginning of April, the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Tullibardine joined the invaders, and a landing was effected on an island at the mouth of Loch Duich in Ross-shire. The two Highland leaders quarrelled, no definite steps were taken, and meanwhile an English squadron which appeared made retreat impossible. The invaders found it difficult to raise the Highlands, and with less than 1000 men, all that they could muster, they marched to Glenshiel, where they were met on the 10th of June by a Government army, which, after three hours' fighting, defeated them. The Spanish ships had previously been dispatched home, and the Spaniards who had taken part in the battle were, towards the end of October, sent after them. The Highlanders escaped as best they could, and so ended the fourth rising that had taken place since William of Orange landed in the country.

Discontent prevailed everywhere; the Government's interference with Scottish affairs rendered the Union more unpopular every day. The tyranny of the predominant partner was becoming irksome if not unbearable, and the disgrace of Argyll, whom his countrymen regarded as the best friend the Government had during the late troubles, did not add to the general peace. The duke managed to retrieve his fortunes, and when Walpole came into power he received fresh honours and gained even more than his former authority. The elections which took place in 1722 resulted in a Whig majority. Another term of office was, accordingly, secured for the Government. Two serious disturbances now took place. The first was the result of

fresh enterprises in agriculture, and the second was directly caused by the Government itself. In 1723 the landowners in Galloway determined on laying down in pasture many of their farms and fenced their fields with stone walls. This necessitated the eviction of a great number of tenants. The farmers and peasants, who naturally felt deeply aggrieved, avenged their wrongs by tearing down the walls. They thus earned the name of Levellers or Dyke-breakers, and troops had to be called out to reduce them to order. This was not effected until a sharp encounter had taken place, in which the Levellers were beaten and sixteen of their number taken prisoners.

The second disturbance arose from a tax which Walpole, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, levied upon malt. A similar attempt had been made in 1713, but it was successfully resisted on the ground that any such tax would be an infringement of the Treaty of Union. The fresh proposal (1724) imposed an additional sixpence on every barrel of ale. This was met by very strong opposition, particularly in Glasgow. Walpole bent before the storm and tried to conciliate his opponents by substituting three-pence on every bushel of malt. Glasgow was immediately in arms, the windows of the mansion of its member, Campbell of Shawfield, who was suspected of being in league with Walpole, were broken. Campbell in alarm asked for troops to be sent to the city, and this so enraged the populace that they attacked his mansion and destroyed it. On the military appearing in the streets the mob attacked them; the soldiers fired in self-defence, with the result that nine of the rioters were killed and eleven wounded. This so deepened the wrath of the people that the troops had to retire on Dumbarton, followed by the enraged citizens. The Government determined to punish the city, and began by seizing the provost and six of the bailies, putting them in prison, and afterwards taking them to Edinburgh, where they were charged with murder, felony, and riot. They were released on bail, no further action was taken, but

Captain Bushel, who was in command of the troops that fired on the mob, was tried and condemned, and only escaped through the royal pardon. The captain had done his duty, but justice in this case was perverted, through the strong feeling in the country. The Edinburgh brewers showed their indignation at the proposed tax by refusing for a whole week to brew any beer, and seeing that 2000 barrels of ale were consumed every week by the citizens of the capital, the privations which they endured must have been considerable. The Court of Session discovering its power over the brewers, as over other trades, ordered the defaulters to resume their brewing. Thinking that they had inflicted sufficient punishment upon their fellow-citizens, they took the hint and resumed their occupation.

The late disturbances in the Highlands caused the Government to devise means by which any similar outbreak might be prevented. Two proposals were made and carried out. The clansmen were disarmed, and roads were made through the country. The man entrusted with this double commission was General Wade. He found the clansmen surprisingly ready to give up their arms, but it was afterwards discovered that the weapons which they so willingly relinquished were for the most part old and useless : their new and effective arms they concealed for a future day. It was in 1725 that Wade began to make his roads. It took him eleven years to accomplish his task (1736). Every summer during that time he kept 500 soldiers busy at work. The extent of the roads thus made measured 250 miles ; they averaged sixteen feet in breadth. Forty bridges had to be constructed, besides several new forts, notably one at Fort-Augustus and another at Inverness. It cannot be doubted that this engineering feat did much to reduce the Highlands by bringing their inhabitants into connection with their Lowland compatriots, and so fusing into one the different parts of the nation. Built primarily for the object of quickly putting down any attempt at a rising, these roads, through the means they provided for com-

mercial and social intercommunication, soon made any rebellion uncalled for, if not impossible.

While Wade was thus busy finishing his task, a riot took place in Edinburgh, which clearly proved that the Highlands were not the only unruly portion of the kingdom, for 1736 was also the year of the famous Porteous Mob. The taxes, as we have seen, which were from time to time imposed, were extremely unpopular in Scotland, and there were three in particular which gave rise to much clamour. These were the imposts on tea, brandy, and wine. The people regarded them as the imposition of an alien Government, and did everything in their power to circumvent the officers whose duty it was to uplift them. Smuggling accordingly, especially along the sea-board, was extremely common, and was generally regarded as anything but a crime. A collector of customs chanced to be spending the night at Pittenweem, a small town on the coast of Fife. Two smugglers, Robertson and Wilson, who had previously suffered punishment at the hands of the authorities, regarded this as a good opportunity for having their revenge. They accordingly seized the collector and robbed him. They themselves, however, were speedily caught, lodged in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, tried, and sentenced to death. A joint attempt to effect an escape all but proved successful; Robertson indeed did manage to get through the aperture which they made, but Wilson, who was of a bulkier make, stuck and was caught. On the Sunday before the day of execution they were taken to church, as was the custom, and before the congregation had well assembled both made a determined effort to escape. Robertson succeeded and was never caught, but Wilson, who again failed, was determined that his fellow-prisoner should not on this occasion lose his chance of freedom on his account. He seized one of his jailors with each hand, fastened on the third with his teeth, and so held them fast until his friend had secured his liberty. The smuggler was a popular hero from that hour.

Wilson's execution took place on the 14th of April. No disturbance occurred until all was over, when the mob threw missiles at the attendants and the City Guard. Captain Porteous, who was in command of the Guard, forgetting the fate of Captain Bushel, ordered his men to fire on the mob, he himself setting the example. His men fired over the heads of the crowd, but unfortunately killed and wounded a number on the outskirts, or who were watching the proceedings from their windows. The popular indignation against Porteous necessitated his trial, when a jury of Edinburgh citizens, on the 20th of July, found him guilty of murder and so condemned him to death. The Government felt that such a consummation must at all costs be avoided, and Queen Caroline, wife of George II., who was now king, strongly sympathising with the captain, a respite of six weeks was granted to him. The news of this respite was indignantly received in Scotland, and on the evening before the day fixed for the execution (8th September), an organised mob gathered in Edinburgh, seized the city gates, shut off the military, surrounded the City Guards, disarmed and dismissed them, made for the Tolbooth, heaped up against it tar-barrels and other combustibles, and set fire to it. Porteous, who had been making merry with his friends that night, sought safety in a chimney, but an iron grating prevented him from escaping. On being discovered, he was seized, carried to the Grassmarket, and there hanged. His executioners, who had carefully planned every step of their proceedings, strangely forgot the main requisites, a rope and a gallows. The former they got from a neighbouring booth, generously giving a guinea for it, and a dyer's pole which they found near by did service for the latter. Inexperienced in carrying out the last extremity of the law they bungled their work sadly, and the unfortunate captain was tortured to death rather than hanged.

The Government ordered strict investigation to be made, but without any satisfactory result. There was a con-

spiracy of silence, and no reliable evidence was forthcoming. It was supposed that the real ringleaders were men of position, who kept themselves well in the background; in any case they must have been men of intelligence, for the whole plot, from beginning to end, was carried out in such a way as to suggest a carefully devised course of action. The Government introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, the object of which was to mete out severe punishment to the magistrates and city of Edinburgh. In the end all the punishment inflicted was a fine of £2000 to recoup the widow of Captain Porteous for the death of her husband, and the deposition and disgrace of the Provost. This moderate punishment was due to the strong opposition which the proposals of the Government met with on the part of the Scottish members, and notably of Argyll. The duke had for a number of years occupied a position in Scotland which made him, along with his brother, Lord Islay, master of the country. He had acted with the Government, with Walpole as its head, up to the time of the Porteous Mob, but not approving of the threatened indignities which were to be heaped upon the capital of Scotland, he separated himself from Walpole. From 1725, however, almost to his death in 1742, he dominated Scotland as no subject had ever done before him.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

BEFORE THE 'FORTY-FIVE

THE impression which the study of the period that intervened between the Revolution and the date at which we have now arrived makes upon one is that the Scottish people had been trying to adjust themselves to the new conditions that were created. The country found that even the Revolution Settlement with a Protestant king did not meet the national wants, and so the important step was taken of uniting the Parliaments of Scotland and England in the hope that this would prove satisfactory. But the channel in which the life of the country had flowed for so many centuries could not be thus changed without causing an overflow of feeling and interest, which necessarily spread and formed new channels. It required time for the main current to accommodate itself to the course which Acts of Parliament had cut out for it. But until this could be accomplished cross-currents necessarily prevailed, and at times they threatened so to flood the country as almost to swamp it.

The national party, whose members had always been hostile to England and sympathetic towards France, looked with disfavour upon the Union, and took every opportunity for bringing it into discredit. They magnified the dislocation of trade caused by it, the friction which arose from taxation, and the restrictions imposed by Parliament on Scottish commerce. They were, besides, consistently loyal to the exiled prince, and plotted for his return. It is probable that personal ambition and disappointment at the lack of recognition of them by the Government may also have been controlling motives. These were the main causes for the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. It was in the Highlands that

the Jacobite leaders found their strongest support, mainly because the clansmen were still loyal to their chiefs, were fond of fighting, and, being far removed from the central Government, had not as yet felt the full benefit of the Protestant rule. Besides, some districts had only been half reformed, and the Episcopal Church, which was strongly Jacobite, had many adherents in quarters north of the Highland line. But not all the chiefs or clansmen by any means joined the rebels. On both occasions some even fought against the Jacobite forces, and many more remained neutral.

The steadying influence all through was the Established Church. It was strongly Hanoverian, not that it had any particular liking for the reigning house or for the individual who happened for the time being to sit upon the throne, but because it dreaded the return of a Roman Catholic prince as King of Scotland. It is quite true that during the half-century which followed the Revolution Settlement religion had fallen into the background as the chief interest of the country, and that compared with the period which dates back to the Reformation little is heard of ecclesiastical matters. Trade, commerce, and secular pursuits were now the ruling passion of the nation. Still, the Scottish people were at heart as religious as ever, and two tendencies which had been more or less active from the time of Knox downwards now declared themselves. The Scottish Church, with all its zeal and enthusiasm, bordering at times on fanaticism, had never been without a mediating or moderate party that was capable of embracing within its interests subjects other than those that were purely religious. The spirit that animated this party now began to manifest itself. Minds long engrossed and even bound by the doctrines and dogmas of the Church showed signs of asserting their independence, and of inquiring into their own constitution and working. Many also looked beyond themselves and began to study nature. Philosophy and science, whose conclusions seemed to threaten the very foundation of the

Church, now began to have their day. This new movement was by no means confined to our country ; it was widespread, and a sign of the times. It was the age of the English Deists, of the French Encyclopædists, and of the German *Aufklärung*. David Hume was fast bringing Scotland into line with these countries, and Francis Hutcheson and Principal Leechman were busily assisting him. They were both ornaments of Glasgow University, and it was the same seat of learning that produced the first and most notorious heretic of the times. This was Professor Simson, who in 1714 was brought before the Assembly charged with teaching Arminianism. A number of years later he was again at the bar of the same court on the more serious charge of spreading Arianism. He was found guilty and suspended, but allowed to retain his salary.

The other tendency, which had up to the Revolution Settlement been the stronger force in the Church, also now declared itself. It inspired the party that cherished the Covenanting ideals. This party was zealous, well-meaning, enthusiastic, and strongly evangelical, and the spirit which possessed its members manifested itself in the famous Marrow controversy (1718-22). The teaching of the book, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*—published first in 1646, and reputed to be the production of an Englishman ; subsequently discovered by Boston of Ettrick, and through his influence circulated among the Scottish clergy, some of whom warmly approved of its teaching—was declared by the General Assembly of 1720, on the motion of Principal Hadow of St Andrews, to be antinomian. The finding of the Assembly was not received by the admirers of the 'Marrow' without strong protests, and though no secession took place at the time, certain of those who favoured the 'free, open, and unrestrained gospel' which it promulgated soon found an occasion for proving that it was impossible for them to live and work in harmony with the majority of the brethren, or to remain as ministers of the Church.

The cause of offence to these men was the Act of Patron-

age of 1712, which infringed, as they held, upon the rights of the people, and handed over the choice of the minister to lay patrons. This Act was passed at the instigation of Jacobite politicians and against the wishes of the Church. It was a breach, if not in fact yet in spirit, of the Treaty of Union, and was the main cause of all the troubles that disturbed the peace of the Church for the next century and a half. Efforts were made to have it repealed, but in vain, and it remained on the Statute Book until 1874, when it was finally abolished. The Act was not taken advantage of to any great extent at first, because of its unpopularity, but after a time patrons began to assert, and not unfrequently to abuse, their rights, by intruding objectionable ministers upon congregations. The people in many cases protested, and appealed to their Presbyteries, the members of which, in not a few cases, were inclined to support them. The General Assembly in 1732 passed an Act—which had not, all the same, the full or even legal support of the Presbyteries—by way of compromise, requiring Presbyteries, in cases where a patron had not made a presentation, to proceed to induct a minister upon a ‘call’ from the heritors and the elders. This Act met with strong opposition, on the part chiefly of Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Stirling. He and three other ministers protested; and, on their refusal to retract their protest, they were declared to be no longer ministers of the Church of Scotland. Upon this they and their sympathisers formed what they called the Associate Presbytery, and thus caused the first organised secession from the Church of Scotland. The Church did everything in its power to win back its seceding brethren; it abolished the offending Act of 1732, it strove during the space of seven years to conciliate them, but in vain. All this time they were allowed to remain in their parishes, but as toleration could go no further, the Church deposed them in 1740.

‘The truth is,’ says Lord Balfour of Burleigh in his volume on *The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland*, ‘that the seceders represented a body of

opinion in the Church which was really Covenanting alike in name and in spirit, and which was uneasy at many of the developments of the preceding forty years. Patronage, or its abuse, was by no means their only grievance against the majority in the Church. In their "Judicial Testimony" of 1736, among other enormities against which they had lifted up their witness, they included the non-renewal of the Covenant at the Revolution, the permission of Episcopal ministers to remain in their parishes, the union with England on a non-Covenanting basis, the resultant toleration, the slackness of the Church in dealing with heresy, and even the abolition of the penal statutes against witches, in defiance of the law of God, which says, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." In these seceders dwelt the intense, passionate and narrow spirit of the Protesters of 1651. Earnest, devout, and spiritual as they were, they were looking backward and not forward, and felt easier when they found themselves outside an Establishment which was yielding to forward movements.' Other secessions took place before the end of the century, and the Church, taking alarm at the growing insubordination, put into force with greater strictness the powers which it possessed. It was what afterwards became known as the party of Moderatism that thus strove to keep down ecclesiastical rebellion. It allied itself with the growing culture of the times, and fostered those literary and scientific interests which now began to prevail. By its efforts the Church steadily grew in prestige, and produced men distinguished for their learning and accomplishments. But the Covenanting leaven, notwithstanding the numerous secessions, remained, and in due time the two tendencies, which had in reality all along moved side by side, broke out again into open conflict, and produced the great upheaval of 1843. The old Cameronian body still continued to protest against the defections of the Church from the principles of the two Covenants, and the Episcopalians, after being under a cloud for more than a century, at length emerged, and re-

constituted their Church into the form with which we are now familiar.

The rebellion of 1715 drew the attention of the country to the Highlands, and the veil was lifted from a region which had for centuries been permitted, except when open revolt took place, to lead its own life. From that time onwards, however, the Highlands, so to speak, came more and more into the open, and have ever since continued to be in closer relations to the other parts of the country. The old clan conditions still prevailed, and the social and even religious habits of the people were much the same as they had been in previous centuries. The wild scenery amidst which they lived, the varying climate with its extremes of storm and sunshine, the deep and lonely straths, the lofty mountains, the turbulent streams, and solitary grandeur, all had their effect upon them. The poverty of the land, the clan feuds that were constantly taking place, and the dependence of the clansmen themselves on their chiefs had also their influence on the life and habits of the people. It was about this time that travellers from the south ventured into these inaccessible regions, and the story which they tell taxes the reader's credulity, for it is hard to believe that a century and a half ago there existed in Scotland thousands of people whose mode of existence and general outlook were such as they describe.

The houses of the cottars were nothing more than huts. A little patch of ground here and there might be cultivated. The women did most of the labour. The cattle and sheep reared were of the poorest quality. At Falkirk and Crieff trysts droves of black Highland cattle might be seen. They fetched anything from ten to forty shillings each. The sheep were diminutive and poor; they were kept under shelter in winter from fear of dying from the weather, and it was only by accident, about the middle of the century, that the discovery was made that they throve better in the open. The turf in the neighbourhood, and even round the doors, was used for building and roofing the huts, so

that a stranger in Sutherlandshire was forced to remark that the 'Highlanders made their houses of grass and fed their cattle on stones.' When short of food, the clansmen bled the cattle, boiled the blood, or mixed it with oatmeal, and so made a hearty repast. Instead of clipping the sheep, the wool was frequently pulled off their back, and then spun and weaved for use. Wild game was plentiful, and fish abounded in the rivers and on the coasts. The 'mart' was salted in November, and served the household for the next six months. Roots and greens were good, wine was cheap, and each man if he cared could be his own distiller.

The chiefs let the land to tacksmen, and these again to cottars, who had grazing for a cow or two, and a small patch of land for cultivation. All agricultural implements were made of wood, and it was no uncommon sight to see four ponies dragging a wooden plough, the horses being led by a man who walked backwards, guiding the share past stones or over rocks. All were at the call of the chief, whose wealth was the number of men who would rally to his standard. Employment could not be found for half the population, and the suppressed energy of the clansmen found outlet in cattle raids, in searching for those who had escaped with unlawful booty, or in blackmailing. The Highlanders were honest, they were kind to shipwrecked mariners, and lavish in their hospitality. Very few parishes had schools; even after the middle of the century there was only one school to be found between the mouth of the Spey and the Sound of Lorne. And yet the Highlanders were not devoid of a kind of literature, for tales, romances, songs, traditions were handed down from one generation to another, and in the winter evenings they gathered at each other's houses and rehearsed the ancient exploits of clan and race. Thus did the young grow up inspired by the warlike deeds of their ancestors, and with ideals of life in which courage and the manly virtues of the soldier formed the chief part. The Highlanders were brought into close relation with the chiefs and their families, most of whom were well educated,

and some even cultured, for the times, and this friendly contact led them to copy the manners and even to catch the spirit of their superiors. It is in this way that we can account for the native courtesy and gentle breeding of the Celt.

These were the men, so reared, who scattered the English forces at Prestonpans and Falkirk, who, as privates in the famous 'Black Watch,' saved the day for their country on French soil, and who in after years were to uphold the honour and add to the glory of British arms in many a hard-fought field. They were happy in their Highland homes. The Highlander's love of country was and still is a passion which nothing can turn cold. In after years they were forced to leave their glens, and to migrate in thousands to Lowland Scotland or to the Colonies. What to most of them seemed a dire calamity proved their deliverance. What they needed was an outlet for their energies, a free field for their talents, a sufficient reward for their industry. These they have since found in the commercial cities of the south, in the virgin soil of America, and in our great dependencies, in which the names of many of those who occupy the most honoured positions are purely Celtic.

It was not till the century was well advanced that even the Lowlands were able to adjust themselves to the new conditions created by the Union. We have already seen how disappointed the country was at the restrictions and taxation which followed upon its closer relations with England. But in 1727 an Act was passed, on a strong representation made to the legislature by the Convention of Royal Burghs, by which a grant of £6000 was to be annually contributed for three years for the encouragement of Scottish industries. This sum was allocated as follows: £2650 was given to the linen trade, an equal amount to the herring industry, and the remainder, £700, to the trade in coarse cloth. Schools were started for teaching young people arts and industries, and prizes and premiums were distributed among those who showed most talent. Scot-

land had now got its foot on the first rung of the commercial ladder, and the progress of its trade increased from this date with marvellous rapidity. It was now that the country set itself in real earnestness to develop its commercial relations with foreign countries. The centre of trade had changed from the east to the west coast. This was owing to the new field of enterprise that was opened up in America. Greenock and Glasgow accordingly soon grew in importance. At the beginning of the century Glasgow had only 12,000 of a population, and it was not until 1718 that it dispatched the first vessel belonging to itself across the Atlantic. It became the centre of the tobacco trade, and made great strides in the manufacturing of linen. It soon added to these industries that of shipbuilding, upon which the success of the city now chiefly depends.

It was about this time also that new methods began to be employed in agriculture. The growing of hay was introduced, long leases were granted, cabbages and turnips began to be cultivated in the fields ; potatoes were reared for the first time in a Scottish garden in 1726, and Kilsyth has the honour of being the first place in which they were grown in the fields (1739). The country, as we have seen, has always taken a deep interest in education, and the Act of 1696 ordained that a school should be provided in every parish ; but for a number of years after the passing of this Act many parishes were to be found in which there were no schools, and even the schools that did exist were both externally and internally miserable buildings. The schoolmasters, too, were poorly paid. Still, progress was made ; and a knowledge of reading and writing was fairly general. The Church did its best to meet the wants of the rising generation, and by the beginning of the following century the great scheme of John Knox was practically realised. It was not, however, until some seventy years later that education became compulsory. But the thirst for knowledge had been so strong that even at that date it was only a minority that could neither read nor write. The universities were still

struggling institutions, but a better day was soon to dawn for them also. One great advance was made when Francis Hutcheson set the example of lecturing to his students in English. Previous to his time professors taught in Latin. The system, too, by which one professor conducted his class through all the different subjects of a university course was also coming to an end. Men were appointed who were specialists in their subject, and they were appointed to teach it alone. Modern science and philosophy were ousting from its time-honoured place the Scholasticism which even the Reformation had not completely destroyed, and a broader and a more generous intellectual life was beginning to prevail.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE 'FORTY-FIVE

WE now come to the last of the Jacobite risings, the famous 'Forty-five. Of all the incidents connected with the efforts of the Stewarts to recover the throne of their fathers it was the most romantic. It is customary now to regard it as an episode in Scottish history, for even if it had proved successful at the time, its triumph could only have been temporary, and yet it was an episode with far-reaching consequences. The Jacobite cause had fallen into the background ever since the 'Fifteen, and had it not been for the enthusiasm and belief in his own destiny which characterised the young Pretender, Mar's rebellion would probably have been the last to disturb the peace of Scotland. The power upon which the Jacobites depended, and to which they always looked for support in their enterprises, was France. Convinced that their only chance of success was in a war between that country and Britain, their highest hopes were realised when a conflict broke out between the two countries in 1743. In the following year France determined to invade England, and as the Old Pretender, as he was called, was now fifty-seven years of age, the champion set up in the interests of the house of Stewart was his son, the young Charles Edward, who was now twenty-three years old. France felt that the best justification for any attack upon Britain was the pretence that she was fighting in the interests of its real king. But once more the elements fought for Britain, for a storm drove the French navy back on the French coast. No such opportunity again presented itself. France from that day never made a genuine move in the interests of the fallen dynasty.

The young Chevalier, who had been summoned to France in order to take part in the enterprise, was determined, however, not to turn back. He had resolved to sail for the ancient kingdom of his fathers although he were only accompanied by a 'single footman.' The defeat of the British forces at Fontenoy on the 11th May 1745 gave the necessary spur to his resolution. With two ships, the *Elizabeth* and the *Doutelle*, equipped by borrowed money, he set sail from Nantes on the 22nd June. The *Elizabeth* encountered an English man-of-war, and after a fight in which both vessels were disabled she returned to France. Charles pursued his course in the *Doutelle*, and on the 23rd of July touched at Eriskay, a small island in the Outer Hebrides, finally landing at Arisaig in Moidart. The clans at first showed no enthusiasm in his cause; the chiefs refused to rise. Undaunted he persevered, and at last succeeded in rallying to his person young Macdonald of Clanranald and the young Lochiel. With these two great chiefs and their followers on his side his hopes mounted high, and in a remarkably short time other chiefs with their clansmen flocked to his standard, so that within a month after landing his army reached close upon three thousand men. It was his own personality that gained him adherents. He was tall and handsome, with reddish hair and brown eyes, ready for any enterprise, capable of enduring the greatest fatigue, brave, frank, and winning, with all the qualities of a popular hero. He believed, besides, in his destiny, and never for a moment doubted but that he would once more ascend the throne of his fathers. It was at Glenfinnan on Loch Shiel, on the 19th of August, that he raised his standard, a banner of red silk with white ground in the midst. The Camerons and Macdonalds gave a great shout as the flag floated in the breeze.

Charles had a much more difficult task before him than Mar. At the earlier rising greater discontent prevailed, and the chiefs and clans were more ready to run every risk on behalf of the exiled prince. Much had happened since

then ; feeling in the Highlands was divided, and the enthusiasm which would make the enterprise a success had to be created. That Charles was able to quicken the dormant loyalty of the Highlanders was no mean achievement. The success of the movement so far was entirely his own. In the Lowlands there was not only indifference to his cause, but frank hostility. The country was settling down to a commercial life, swords had been beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks. Neither in Lowland Scotland nor in England did he receive much help. But his great opportunity lay in the unpreparedness of the Government, in their divided counsels, in their lack of capable generals and of leading statesmen. A sum of £30,000 was set upon Charles's head—this was about the most valiant thing that King George seemed capable of doing—and the prince replied by placing an equal sum on the head of the 'Elector of Hanover.' The Government at last found a general in Sir John Cope, and a less capable commander it would have been hard for them to discover. Cope, hearing that Charles was heading south, determined to intercept him, but on reaching the forest of Atholl and finding himself in a narrow glen, he determined, in order to avoid capture or defeat, to give the prince the slip. He accordingly made a detour and marched on Inverness. Charles was disappointed, for he was convinced that he would have defeated his opponent, and having missed his quarry he immediately proceeded south, with the express intention of marching on Edinburgh.

The young Chevalier, marching at the head of his army, soon reached Perth, where he stayed for seven days. He there proclaimed his father, James VIII., as King of Great Britain and Ireland. Other chiefs and their clans had joined him on the way, and in view of the struggle that lay before him he resolved upon putting his army into order. The man who gave him most aid in accomplishing this, and, indeed, in the enterprise all through, was Lord George Murray, younger brother of the Duke of Atholl. It was

believed that if the conduct of the campaign had been left entirely in his hands it would have had a successful issue. But Charles was suspicious of him, and the Duke of Perth, in whom he reposed the most absolute confidence, was jealous of Lord George. The other person who figured most, then and afterwards, as a special confidant of the prince, was Murray of Broughton, an able man, but an arch-traitor, whom Charles made his secretary. Charles had an army, but no money, and his troops expected pay. He accordingly followed Mar's method and made levies on the chief towns, Glasgow alone being mulcted to the extent of £15,000. Thus provided, he left Perth on the 11th September, crossed the Forth seven miles west of Stirling, passed Bannockburn and Linlithgow in a rapid march on Edinburgh. The capital was panicstricken on hearing of the invasion. The citizens had long ceased to be capable of defending their town at a moment's notice. They were, besides, divided in their sympathies, and the city offered an easy prey to the Highlanders. Edinburgh's only hope was in Sir John Cope, who was preparing to land his forces at Dunbar, having embarked them at Aberdeen, after marching there from Inverness. But Charles would brook no delay ; his demand was peremptory ; Edinburgh must surrender. A band of Camerons under Lochiel surprised the gate of the Nether Bow, and on the morning of 17th September ' Bonnie Prince Charlie ' at the head of his Highlanders marched into the capital and took up his quarters in Holyrood House, the ancient home of his race. This must have been the proudest moment of his life. At noon his father was proclaimed at the Market Cross as King James VIII., and at night there was a great ball at Holyrood.

Cope landed his troops at Dunbar the very day on which Charles entered Edinburgh, and decided to march immediately on the capital. Charles set out to meet him, and the armies faced each other at Prestonpans, nine miles east of Edinburgh, on the night of 20th September. The following day an engagement took place. It did not last

more than ten minutes. Cope's army was completely routed ; his infantry was captured, wounded, or slain, but he himself escaped with his cavalry to Berwick-on-Tweed. Charles returned in triumph to Edinburgh, where he stayed for over a month, living and acting as a king. His success, however, was not without some alloy, for the Lowlanders would not rally to his standard. They had no desire for a Roman Catholic king. He did receive a few accessions of Highland chiefs and clans, but the citizens of Edinburgh showed no inclination to support him. Jealousies, besides, sprang up among his followers, and those differences began to show themselves which, before the enterprise was ended, broke out into open rupture. Charles was determined to invade England. The Highlanders were strongly opposed to this, but at last they yielded, and on the 3rd of November the fateful march began. The rebel forces now numbered some 5000, but a thousand deserted before they crossed the Border. Carlisle refused to surrender, and made a brave show of resistance. This was a bad augury, for, as the invasion of England had for one of its objects the rousing of the Jacobites to the prince's cause, the apathy and even hostility of the famous Border town was a sure indication of the lukewarmness of Charles's English friends. On the 17th November the prince entered the town, riding on a white horse, with a hundred pipers playing before him.

The question was now debated as to whether they should advance into England or not. Charles himself was determined to march on London ; and, much against their will, the Highlanders fell in with his desire. On the last day of November a start was made ; strict discipline was maintained, and no damage more serious than the robbing of a hen-roost was done by the invaders to English property. They marched through Penrith, Kendal, and Preston, receiving little encouragement by the way. They then headed for Manchester, which was more favourable to the Jacobite cause. The city voluntarily contributed £3000 to the prince's exchequer, and 300 volunteers joined his ranks.

These composed the Manchester regiment. The next decision taken was to march on Derby, where they learned that the Duke of Cumberland, the brother of the king, was at the head of a considerable force, ready to meet and intercept them. It was not fear of Cumberland that induced them to retreat. It was the fact that England would not join their standard. Charles was bent upon marching on London, which was panicstricken at the news of his approach, but his officers refused. The men themselves were quite ready to venture on so hazardous an enterprise, and when the retreat began they had to be told that they were setting out to meet the enemy. This was the first great disappointment to Charles, and it took the heart out of him. But his officers knew that to enter the capital with the whole country either indifferent or hostile would have been to court destruction. If Charles had been a greater man, if his qualities of head and heart had been of a higher order, the risk might have been taken, but being what he was, he was not ill-served by his officers when they prudently counselled a retreat.

It was on the 6th of December, henceforth known as 'Black Friday,' that the return march began. It was now felt that all was over. Charles, who had hitherto marched at the head of his army, now followed in the rear on horseback. Discipline was relaxed, and pillaging became general. The country showed its hostility by seizing and even slaying any straggler. On the 19th December they reached Carlisle, where Charles foolishly insisted on leaving a garrison. The officers and men who formed it knew that the prince had committed them to certain destruction. Glasgow was reached on Christmas Day. The city was manifestly hostile. Even the women looked coldly on the young Chevalier. Here he stayed a week, and rested his worn-out soldiers. He ordered the city to pay £2000, and to provide his men with necessary clothing. Altogether the prince cost the citizens £10,000. During the two months that Charles was absent from the Highlands, Lord President Forbes, the leading and most representative Scotsman of his day, was

busy sowing disaffection to the prince's cause among the chiefs and clans, and succeeded in preventing some of the most notable of them from joining him. This did much to weaken the prince's cause when he found himself again in the Highlands. The Highlanders left Glasgow on the 3rd of January 1746, and marched on Stirling, where they were joined by reinforcements from the north. A royal army, under General John Hawley, a cruel and incapable officer, was now at Falkirk. Charles on the 17th marched to attack it, and late in the day the two armies met. So far as numbers were concerned they were equally matched, there being between 8000 and 9000 men on each side. Hawley was as handsomely beaten as was Sir John Cope. He left 400 on the field, besides his guns and baggage. The Highlanders' loss was only 40.

Shortly after the battle it was determined to retreat to the Highlands. This decision was also taken much against the prince's will. 'Have I lived to see this?' he exclaimed, as he struck his head against the wall. There then began the march to Inverness, which was reached in February, with Cumberland in pursuit. Charles's army was short of provisions, the quarrels between his officers had become more bitter, and an attempt to surprise Cumberland's camp at Nairn, which failed, brought back to the main body the force that had made the enterprise, weary with a long march, and weakened by lack of food and sleep. It was that same day, April 16th, that the battle of Culloden took place. It was fought on a moor five miles from Inverness. Against Cumberland's 9000 fresh and well-provisioned troops all that Charles could muster was 5000 men, 'famished, exhausted, and robbed of their night's sleep.' Cumberland's cannon played havoc among the rebel forces, and prevented the Highlanders from getting to close quarters with the broadsword. They stood the deadly fusilade for an hour, when they made a mad rush at the enemy. They broke through his first line; but Cumberland, knowing their method of warfare, had prepared a deadly defence. In the

second line his men were arranged three deep, kneeling, stooping, standing. All were ready with loaded pieces, which were discharged in a devastating volley as the Highlanders rushed on them. The effect was overwhelming; the battle was over, Charles defeated, and 1000 of his followers slain. Cumberland's losses were 300. The left wing of the Highlanders suffered most. They were mercilessly pursued on their flight to Inverness by the royalist cavalry. The right wing left the field with pipes playing; they gathered again at Ruthven to the number of several thousand men, and under Lord George, Tullibardine, and Perth, were ready for a new effort. It was thought they might thus bring the Government to terms. But Charles felt that all was lost, and was hurrying west in a desperate attempt to escape to France, and the Highlanders, also now realising that with his flight they were left to pay the penalty, broke up, 'with wild howlings and lamentations.' Charles reached the district where he had landed. For five months he was relentlessly pursued by the royalist troops. But even the £30,000 placed on his head did not tempt the loyal clansmen to betray him. Lawless men and one woman, Flora Macdonald, acted as his guardian angels, and saw him safely off to France, where he had a royal reception. But when peace was settled between that country and Britain, he had to set out again on his travels, and sought safety in Rome, where he died in 1788. The only direct descendant of James VII. then left was the young Chevalier's brother, Henry, now a Cardinal and a pensioner of George III. With his death the last possible Pretender to the British Crown passed away. The degradation of Charles's last years put out the fire of Jacobitism; the ashes smouldered somewhat, but long before his death the last flickering gleam had faded away. Of his chief supporters some died in exile, among whom were Lord George Murray, the Earl Marischal, and the gentle Lochiel. Others, such as Balmerino, Kilmarnock, and the 'old fox' Lovat, met their fate on the scaffold, and Murray of Broughton bartered

honour for life. Severe measures were meted out to the Highlanders at the instigation of Cumberland, who thereby earned the unenviable nickname of 'the Butcher.' Those who surrendered saved their cattle and their houses, but many were shipped to the plantations. Any found in arms were immediately put to death, and the houses of those who absconded were 'plundered and burned, their cattle drove, and their ploughs and other tackle destroyed.' The lands of some of the principal chiefs were burned. The trial of the rank and file took place in the north of England, and eighty of them met their death without flinching. But public resentment at the severity of the measures of the Government at last brought the cruel treatment of the Highlanders to an end. They had played for a high stake and had lost, but their bravery, loyalty, chivalry, dash and daring quickened the national pulse, stirred England, and left memories which are not the least precious portion of Scotland's heritage.

CHAPTER XL

MODERN SCOTLAND, 1745-1843

THE Rebellion of 'Forty-five we have characterised as an episode, but one with far-reaching consequences ; for, with the defeat of Prince Charles at Culloden, we enter upon the first chapter in the history of modern Scotland. The final effort of Jacobitism to restore the fallen fortunes of the house of Stewart may have been a blunder, but it was a glorious blunder which, more than anything else, called the nation to itself and set it forth on a course of marvellous development. It also left memories which quickened the national pulse, and traditions which have not even yet lost their charm and potency. The Rebellion, besides, forced the English nation to rivet its attention on Scotland. The fruits of the Union had so far been extremely meagre, and the tendency to treat Scotland more as a sleeping than an active partner in the concerns of the United Kingdom received a rude shock. London had awakened to a sense of the danger which threatened it from an invasion by a body of wild Highland caterans, and the military prestige of England had been lowered by the defeat of its armies at Prestonpans and Falkirk. Scotland evidently could be trifled with no longer, for if a mere handful of its men could thus endanger the peace of the country, what might the whole nation not accomplish if its patience were exhausted ? It is from this period that we can date the beginning of that respect for Scotland which, like its own prosperity, has gone on increasing.

It may be true that this respect first manifested itself in an unfriendly manner. The Englishman's idea of the Scotsman was far from favourable. He regarded him as

a compound of savagery and chicanery. The onslaught of the wild Highlanders upon English domains and the Lowlander's pawkiness were responsible for this self-contradictory opinion. The average Englishman could not take it kindly to be overthrown in battle and to be overreached in business by our forbears. Unkind things accordingly were said and irritating actions done which showed a passing resentment. These early misunderstandings were mainly based upon ignorance, for the English mind, even still, is singularly insular, and finds difficulty in appreciating the good qualities of those who dwell beyond its own shores. But this respect on the part of England for its northern neighbour took another and a more drastic form. Repressive legislation was put into force. By it the Episcopal Church and clergy, who were believed to have been responsible in a large measure for the late rebellion, were severely dealt with. The clansmen were prohibited from wearing their national dress, and the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs was abolished. The third measure is not to be regretted, for with its enforcement there passed away the last remains of feudalism in Scotland.

It is to Scotland itself, however, that we have to turn in order to see the first steps of the progress which has marked its history from then till now. It set itself with unprecedented energy to put its house in order. It frankly and boldly faced the many difficult questions that had to be solved if the life of the people was to respond to the new world-forces which were at work and which were affecting the destiny of every progressive nation. The age of commerce had dawned, and if Scotland was to reap its equal share of the harvest that was ready, it could only be by being true to itself, advancing as a united people and making use of all the forces, social, material and intellectual at its command. It is now that we see the Scottish people becoming really one. The first step in the interfusion of interests was taken by the efforts which now were

made to bring the Highlands into line with the rest of the country. The life of Scotsmen who lived north and west of the Grampians had not been broadened in the same way as that of those who were brought more closely into touch with the new spirit that had been awakened. During the Middle Ages, and even for some time after the Reformation, the difference of outlook between the Highlanders and the Lowlanders had not been so marked. The people, as a whole, were at that time more homogeneous than they were immediately before the Rebellion of 'Forty-five. The reason is that while the Lowlands had been affected by the new movements which were governing Western Europe, the Highlands had remained for the most part untouched by them. Besides, the clan system, which had broken down in the Borders some generations before, still prevailed. It now became the aim of Lowland Scotland to do for the Highlands what had been done for itself, and to bring them into line with modern developments. It is one of the glories of the men of those days that they realised this need and braced themselves to meet it. There must now be a unity of interests as there was already an interfusion of blood.

A true insight into the means by which this might be accomplished was shown when steps were taken to establish schools throughout the Highlands. Education, it was rightly recognised, must be the instrument for bringing about the desired result. Extensive districts, as we have already seen, were, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of past generations, without schools, for it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that every parish in Scotland could boast of being an educational centre. Even after that time, owing to the great extent of some parishes, many villages and outlying districts were educationally unprovided for. The earlier and later need was met by the Church, which planted schools where there was a pressing demand for education. Shortly after the 'Forty-five the Church took up this question with much earnestness and

even enthusiasm, and set itself, with such resources as it had at its command, to educate the Highlands. It was recognised that in order to bring every section of the nation together and to make full use of every advantage which it possessed, there must be a common language. So long as the Highlander was unable to speak, read, and write English, he was at a disadvantage in the industrial struggle that was now approaching, and his ignorance would consequently handicap the nation as a whole. Among the many benefits which the Church has conferred on the country, what it now set itself to accomplish is surely not the least. Public-spirited Scotsmen assisted the Church in the work which it was now undertaking, and established industries in various parts of the Highlands. Scotland was now doing what Prussia undertook after it began to recover from its crushing defeat by Napoleon. Education was recognised by both countries to lie at the foundation of national progress.

It is remarkable how Scotland so quickly adapted itself to the new circumstances that had arisen. It did not sulk in its tent, so to speak, or stand aloof from the fresh interests which had been created. On the contrary, it determined to take full advantage of every opportunity. It was now that all the possibilities of the Union were being seen, and the changed attitude of England towards its northern neighbour opened up channels of enterprise which had previously been dammed. Scotland freely assimilated all that it could appropriate without at the same time losing anything of its own individuality and national life. Scotsmen, then as now, have the rare faculty of absorbing and utilising all that other nations can teach or give them without ceasing in the slightest degree to be true to themselves and the traditions of their country. 'It is this combination of a fundamental conservatism with intellectual freedom which constitutes the chief interest of Scottish history during the next generation.' They also realise, as few other nations do, that unity in difference

which is the dream of philosophers. The various races that have intermingled in the making of the Scottish people are still preserved in physical and mental types which are easily recognised, and yet at the heart of all there is that indescribable quality which is so thoroughly characteristic of Scottish character, Scottish nationality, and Scottish patriotism. It is this unity in difference that is the strength and glory of the nation. Human life and human interests are tapped by it at every source, and the results are gathered into one volume of enterprise and progress. The Highlanders were brought into line with the rest of the country, and before the eighteenth century was well out, the people of Scotland were able to face the new conditions that had arisen with a united front.

What has now been said may explain in some measure the marvellous leap which the country took in almost every department of human progress. There is nothing corresponding to it in its previous history. It may be an exaggeration to find a parallel in modern Japan. In some of its aspects the period has been compared to the age of Pericles in Athens and to that of Queen Elizabeth in England. It was only then that Scotland found for the first time an outlet for all its energies. The raw material of the national life had in a sense been lying unused and even undiscovered, but the interest of the nation having now been diverted from racial feuds, class warfare and internecine strife to the larger outlook which the Union with England and the commercial expansion of the age presented, the bound forward, while sudden and even startling, was not so inexplicable as it might at first sight seem. The intellectual capacity, the moral earnestness, the physical hardihood, and the religious fervour which have since characterised the Scot, were all there. They had hitherto been expended on other objects, but they were now directed towards those pursuits, success in which marks a nation as great. The revolution which was now taking place deserves to be ranked as of equal importance

with the War of Independence, the Reformation and the Revolution Settlement. It marks the fourth and, so far, the last stage in the development of the Scottish people. It is now that we see them fully realising themselves, and showing in their completed growth the promise of far-off days and reaping the rich fruitage of all the struggles of the past. In literature, in philosophy, in agriculture, in commerce, in economic and social science, and in the ecclesiastical sphere the period stands out as remarkable not only in itself, but in relation to the history of the country as a whole. Scotland may be only a small Valclusa Fountain after all, but it poured out at this time a pure stream, which has enriched both its own life and that of other lands.

One of the main hindrances to the progress of agriculture was insecurity of tenure. This was now remedied and longer leases were granted; farms became larger, fields were enclosed and the runrig system, by which proprietors owned alternate ridges of a field, was abolished; rotation of crops was introduced and tillage was improved. New implements also were employed, and potatoes and turnips became staple crops. Intercommunication between different parts of the country by means of better roads gave additional impetus to trade. The transformation was not confined to the Lowlands; the Highlands shared equally in the general advance. Sheep were introduced into them, and large tracts of hill pasture soon became covered with thriving flocks. The landlords, who were now profiting by the increased rents, cleared the glens of the cottars in order to make way for sheep farms. Many of the inhabitants were driven to the sea-coast, some sought refuge in the towns and cities, while thousands emigrated to the colonies. Others became soldiers, and soon formed the most valuable contingents of the British army. The old order had indeed changed. What had happened on the Borders a century and a half before now took place in the Highlands. The clan system was finally abolished.

A growth in manufactures equally rapid marked the new era. Small towns like Greenock and Paisley, which were in reality no more than large villages, sprang into importance. Edinburgh spread itself into the New Town, and county families could now afford to come into the city for residence in winter. The 'tobacco lords' of Glasgow became city magnates, and Aberdeen with its hosiery and the Border towns with their tweeds shared in the general prosperity. It was at this time that the mineral resources of the country began to be utilised. The rich seams of coal and iron with which certain districts abound were tapped. This new industry gave employment to many, and the minerals themselves supplied the means for still further advancing the industrial revolution that had now begun. The progress in manufacturing quickened the inventive faculty, and discoveries were made by which labour might be saved, and full use made of the rich material that was now at the nation's disposal. Meikle invented his threshing-machine and James Watt discovered the 'separate condenser,' which turned the steam-engine from a toy into the most important instrument in modern progress.

The general awakening found expression in the realms of pure thought and literature. Francis Hutcheson, as we have seen, had struck out a new line of thought, but a greater than he soon appeared. David Hume is recognised as the founder of modern philosophy. He shared in the scepticism and spirit of inquiry that prevailed both on the Continent and in the United Kingdom, and his first great work, *Treatise of Human Nature*, is a landmark in the progress of philosophy. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, which revolutionised political economy, is generally regarded as of equal importance, and Thomas Reid, by his *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, became the founder of Scottish philosophy. This was also the Augustan age of prose, and the histories of Principal Robertson and of Hume touched the high-water mark of literary excellence. The Scottish mind of this period seemed determined on claiming

every sphere as its own, for the scientific spirit which is held to mark more particularly the Victorian era animated such distinguished men as Black, Leslie, Hutton, Cullen, and John Hunter, whose discoveries alone would have given distinction to the period.

It is remarkable that so many of those who gave lustre to the age were ministers of the Church. In no period of its history has the Church of Scotland produced so many men distinguished in science and in literature as during the second half of the eighteenth century. Had the Church been governed by the spirit of an earlier day it would have found itself in opposition to the main movements of the times. But it, too, was affected by these movements, and not only did it accept them, but gloried in them, and adapted itself with rare wisdom and success to the new conditions that had arisen. It was at this time that the best talent in the Church, which, it is no exaggeration to say, was in some respects the best talent in the nation, turned itself to literature, and produced, among many others, such works as Blair's *Rhetoric*, Robertson's *History of Scotland*, and Home's *Douglas*. This last work does not by any means stand alone as a poetical product of the times. It was soon to be eclipsed by others of much greater importance. Allan Ramsay had already appeared. He was soon to be succeeded by Robert Fergusson, and in the fulness of time came Robert Burns, Scotland's greatest genius. The life of Sir Walter Scott belongs to the period under review, and with him this great era in Scottish History may be said to have closed.

There was an important factor in the national life which had so far remained unreformed, and that was the political. The number of members which, according to the Treaty of Union, Scotland was entitled to send to Parliament was forty-five, and in view of the growing population and the increased wealth of the country this number was quite inadequate. Besides, those who possessed the franchise were ridiculously few. Some two thousand voters elected

Scotland's representatives. It is not, therefore, surprising to learn that a series of agitations took place for the purpose of having this anomaly remedied. The desire for burgh reform and for increased representation in Parliament met with strong opposition on the part of the Government. Societies were formed, meetings took place, and speeches were delivered with the object of forcing the question to the front, and giving to the people a just and larger share in the management of the affairs of the nation. The agitation was put down with a strong hand, but it was found impossible altogether to suppress it, and at last, on the 17th of July 1832, a Reform Bill for Scotland was carried, by which its parliamentary representatives were increased by eight, and the franchise granted to a much greater number of householders. It was only the middle classes that shared in this long-delayed right, and it was left to a later day to include the tradesman and the agricultural labourer in the franchise. The people as a whole, however, were within sight of receiving what they were entitled to, a direct control by means of their votes, in the government of the country.

The Church, which for a generation or two had been devoting itself chiefly to the enforcement of Presbyterian discipline, the cultivation of morals, and the encouragement of letters and learning, came at length to a serious disruption. The two parties which, we have seen, existed in the Church from the Reformation, now broke into open and violent collision. They had had their differences all along, and other secessions since that of the Erskines had taken place. The two parties came to be known towards the earlier part of the nineteenth century as the Moderates and the Evangelicals. There was a difference of temperament as well as of policy between them, but it was their quarrel over policy that brought the dispute to a head. The imposition of lay patronage in the reign of Queen Anne was unpopular at the time, and the people's dislike to it increased instead of diminished. It was the occasion, if not the cause, of

most of the troubles that affected the Church from then until the period with which we are dealing. The Moderates, who for many years were the governing party in the General Assembly, carried out the law with regard to patronage in a strict, and not infrequently in an injudicious, manner. Disputed settlements became common. The question forced itself into the civil Courts, and the Evangelicals, headed by Dr. Chalmers, finding that the law was on the side of the Moderates, solved the question by leaving the Church in a body. At the General Assembly of 1843 they walked out of the house, and, to the number of 450 ministers, supported by a large section of the laity, they founded the Free Church. Patronage was abolished in 1874.

The energy and enterprise which characterise Scotsmen demanded a wider field than their own country could afford. In Parliament and in the public services, in India and in the Colonies, in the army and in the navy, they began to find spheres for their ability, and to contribute to the building up of the Empire. In recent years the attention of the country has been turned to social reform. There has been a growing desire that no obstacles should stand in the way of the free development of the national life. It has been the glory of the country hitherto that by means chiefly of its system of education the highest positions in every walk of life have been open to the poorest. Those who are responsible for the future of the country must see that no new hindrances be placed in the way of the advancement of the least favoured citizen. Meanwhile, however, so far as the social condition of the people is concerned, the aim is to make their surroundings, their homes, and even their wages as favourable as possible, so that even those in the humblest circumstances may be able to lead a self-respecting life. While giving due credit and honour to all who have led in the different movements which tend and converge towards this consummation, it must not be forgotten that the chief glory belongs to the people them-

selves, who, through centuries of hardship, suffering, and poverty, have fought for their liberty and their rights. In solving the problems that still lie ahead, and carrying the process of national evolution to a fuller and richer issue, the Scottish people should seek for encouragement and inspiration in a thorough and loyal study of their past.

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